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THE
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE,
VISITATION CHARGES,
SPEECHES, AND MISCELLANIES,
OF THE RIGHT REVEREND
FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.

How pleasing ATTERBURY's softer hour!
How shin'd the soul, unconquer'd in the Tower!"
POPE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON,
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS:
AND SOLD BY C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.
MDCCLXXXIII.

EPISCOPALY CONSIDERED

VISITATION ENLIGHTENED

SERMONS AND DISCOURSES

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.

DEAN OF ROCHESTER

WITH HIS PASTORAL NOTES



How pleasing a Duty, how useful a
How important a Duty, how necessary a
Duty.

VOLUME THE SECOND

LONDON

PRINTED BY AND FOR J. NICHOLS
AND SOLD BY G. DILLY, IN THE FOUNTAIN

MDCCLXXIII

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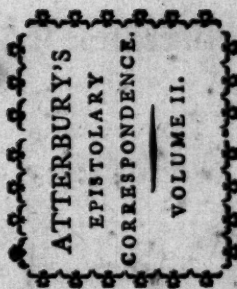
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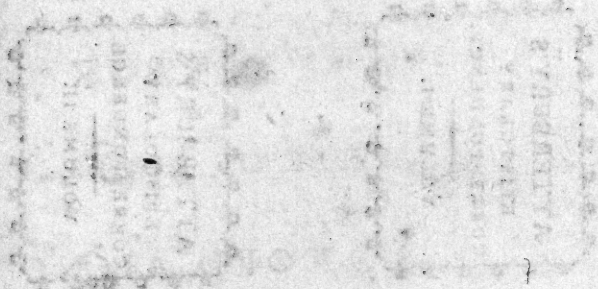
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LETTERS

TO AND FROM

MR. FRANCIS ATTERBURY,

Afterwards Bishop of ROCHESTER.

LETTER I.

HON. CHARLES BOYLE * to Mr. ATTERBURY:

SIR,

Nov. 15, [1691.]

THE Dean came to C. C. on Friday :
he told me he supped with you in
Park-place on Monday-night; but has not
yet

* Second son of Roger the second Earl of Orfery, and brother to Lionel the third Earl, whom he succeeded in that title in 1703. Mr. Atterbury was one of his tutors at Christ-church, Oxford (see vol. I. p. 9:), where he was admitted as a nobleman in 1690, and in 1695 distinguished

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B

himself

yet mentioned any thing to me of a tutor; if he does, he will find me too resolute to be moved from my point*. Mr. Altham † was yesterday installed in our Chapel. I have just made an end of Locke ‡: I was all along extremely pleased with him. I think there is a great deal of very good sense in him; and I believe a great part of it is his own: besides, his language is sound, proper, and pure; and his instances so familiar, that any one may understand him. If he says the thing over and over, I think we are obliged to him; for he has nothing but what will bear reading twice at least. I am deep in Tully's Divinity ||; it

himself in the celebrated controversy with Dr. Bentley, occasioned by the Epistles of Phalaris. He died Aug. 28, 1731. The present Earl of Corke and Orrery is his grandson.

* "The Dean" was Dr. Aldrich.

† There were two Roger Althams of Christ-church at the same period; they were both also canons of the sixth stall in Christ-church; one instituted Nov. 6, 1691 [installed Nov. 24, according to Wood]; the other March 12, 1702. See Le Neve, p. 527, where it appears that the canonry of the former was vacated April 30, 1697, *per incapacitatem*. The latter was Hebrew Professor in 1703.

‡ "On the Human Understanding," probably.

|| "De Divinatione."

is incredible to me how so many of those old philosophers could deviate into such absurd opinions of a Deity. Some, it is true, framed their God according to their own inclinations and interests; some few, I believe, after a strict examination, delivered the pure result of their judgements; but many of their hypotheses are so very extravagant, that the authors of them, in an eager pursuit, seem to have forgot what they were looking after. In the mornings I intend to read More's * Enchiridion and Oughtred †. I am so far from being too hasty, that since you went I have added but very little to Lyfander ‡, because most of my time has been taken up about an oppo-

* Dr. Henry's Divine Dialogues.

† His Clavis Mathematica, probably.

‡ "The Life of," from Plutarch. Dr. Campbell apprehends, that this translation "was written only, and not printed, as the translation of Plutarch's Lives by Dryden was undertaken in 1683, seven years before Mr. Boyle went to the university; and in the edition of 1711, the life of Lyfander, which is in the third volume, is translated by William Leman, M. A. of Cambridge." See Biographia Britannica, vol. II. Yet Mr. Walpole mentions this Life of Lyfander as published in some editions of Plutarch.

fiction and supposition; but now I intend to go on leifurely, and hope to have it finished by Chriftnas. Mr. Bennet* fent me word he had fent thofe books you ordered for me on Thursday by Moor's waggon; but I fent to fee if he had any thing, and there was nothing. Pray, know of Mr. Bennet if he fent any books for me on Thursday; and you will oblige, Sir,

Your humble fervant,

C. BOYLE,

LETTER II.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR,

Dec. 6, [1691.]

I AM afraid I fhall fcarce have done Lyfander before Chriftnas; it takes me up a great deal of time, and cofts me abundance of pains. I am bufied in it generally two or three hours in an afternoon, yet am not able to make any great progrefs. To make Plutarch appear in any tolerable drefs, is an harder

* The bookfeller, who figured afterwards in the controverfy with Dr. Bentley.

task

task than I thought it was; for he is so extremely dull, that if I were to turn him into ridicule, the best way I think would be to give him a verbal translation; which Mr. Leman has hit pretty well, though I doubt he was serious. Descartes's Principles last me a good part of the morning: I am now got over more than half. Mr. Morgan comes to me sometimes, and reads a little with me; and I ask him any thing when I stick: but not only in this, but in every thing else, I find him a man of very true sense, as well as good-natured and easy. Till I have done with Descartes, Oughtred will have a little rest, though I take him now and then for variety. Most parts of the afternoon that I do not translate, I bestow upon Tully; and am now almost at the end of his second book, *De Naturâ Deorum*. The Stoics' notion of a God is nearly as absurd as that of the Epicureans; yet they had a better plea for their wild opinion than those, for the best account of their hypothesis I can meet with is in Tully himself; and it is this. He says, Epicurus lived in a country where Atheism was by no means allowed of; he was forced to acknowledge something of a God, that he

might save his carcase (which I believe he was tender enough of); so he clapt up his extravagant and open scheme rather than run the hazard of losing this life when he had no prospect of a better. Upon the whole, I am apt to think that Epicurus was not only an idle, but very ignorant fellow. I am sure, Tully has drawn him in that posture, though Sir W. Temple gives him a great character, relying chiefly, I suppose, upon the authority of Laertius; but I leave you to judge in this case whose testimony is to be preferred. I have read some of the Moral Essays; I believe the author is a good man; but he falls much short of Dr. Sherlock; so that, I dare say, whatever the Doctor has taken from him, he has made his own. By this time I believe you may have heard how one Mr. Gyles, of University college, drowned himself on Tuesday, in our meadow. I am, Sir, &c.

C. BOYLE.

LET-

LETTER III.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR,

Dec. 18, [1691.]

I ASSURE you, that not out of any laziness or neglect I have not writ to you before now; but I heard you were ill, and I thought it then an improper time to trouble you; and till now I have not heard of your recovery. I have read out Descartes's Principles, and am so well satisfied with them, that I design to read them over again, though first to breathe a while. There are some particulars which perhaps I might make just exceptions against; as his notion of body, some of his laws of motion, the determination of his vortices this way rather than that sometimes; but except these, and perhaps some few more, I take his hypothesis to be a very rational one; and I cannot think his philosophy a romance, though he himself was so modest as to call it one. I have the better opinion of his writings, because he had so mean a one of them himself. How foolishly fond are most men of their own works, which

by much labour and thinking they have made their own ! But truly I think Descartes betrays so little vanity that any man might commend himself so far without being vain. For though we can never arrive at demonstration in physics till we are better acquainted with the constitution of bodies, and the particular motions of their insensible parts ; yet he is the best philosopher, that, upon the most rational grounds, gives the most probable account of Nature's operations, and makes me believe that this effect might proceed from this cause, though I am not mathematically certain it did. Now in this, I think, Descartes has much outdone his predecessors ; and besides, throughout his Principles, there is thought and connexion ; for, if I am not mistaken, he seldom says any thing that may not be deduced from something that went before : he loves to give an account of all particulars that he can tolerably bring in ; and we are only sorry that he has given an account of no more, for now we can only say that he has laid a good foundation for a very substantial building. In short, I take him to be a very great man, a sound naturalist, and a good mathematician ; what he says is not
only

only generally new, and his own, but more intelligible, and more satisfactory, than all that stuff the silly world had so long been contented with. And it is indeed to me an argument of his merit, that he has been able, among the most sensible men, to make so great a progress through the innumerable companies of Aristotelians, that with their sympathies and antipathies had blocked up the way for so many ages together. These are most of the reflections I have made upon Descartes at present; but I do not question but, every time I read him, I shall find not only a new pleasure, but new subjects too of commendation. I have read over another book or two since I writ to you; but here is impertinence enough for one time. I need not tell you how sorry I was to hear of your sickness, nor how glad of your recovery, for I hope you believe that I am, Sir, &c.

C. BOYLE.

LET-

LETTER IV.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

S I R,

March 10, [1691-2.]

I do not forget my own resolutions, and I would not your requests. I am very sensible how good a custom it is to receive* once a month. I omitted it the first Sunday last month, because I came at the latter end of January from London; but I intend to keep it up always when I have a good opportunity. I have made an end of Burgerſdicius†: he is as close, I believe, and as easy as any of them, short, and there are fewer useless terms in him than in other ordinary books upon that subject. He goes often against the common opinion, but has generally good reasons on his side; and he has endeavoured not only to make metaphysics as profitable,

* The Sacrament.

† His logic. Dean Aldrich, then at the head of that society, drew up originally for the use of Mr. Boyle, his learned Compendium of Logic, now read at Christ Church, in which he styles him *the great Ornament of our College*. Dr. Campbell, in *Biographia Britannica*.

but

but as pleasant too, as he could. I have read Dr. Sherlock upon Judgement*. His way of thinking and writing here is much the same as it is in his book upon Death†, admirable and peculiar in both; though I think his Judgement is not so practical a book as his Death. There he settles more notions, and doth not make so many inferences for the government of our lives; but this was rather caused, I believe, from the difference of the Subjects. He is apt to repeat the same thing too often; he is careless as to his expression, which is seldom neat, sometimes false; for he desires much rather that his thoughts should be just, than his language proper. I will make as much haste as I can with Lyfander. I begin now to draw towards a conclusion. He has cost me a great deal of pains; but I shall think myself well recompensed if the translation pleases you, for I am, &c. C. BOYLE.

* Published in 1691-2.

† Published in 1690.

LETTER V.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY,

SIR,

March 15, [1691-2.]

NOW I have ended metaphysics, I go to Euclid in the morning. I shall have done with Terence too in a little while, and then you shall have my reflections upon him. Bob desired me to give him a general character of Mr. Hooker *. It is something different from that which I sent you, and something longer. I will not trouble you with the little preface. Mr. Hooker's cause was a very good one; and he pleads it with as much meekness as reason, rather as if he advised a friend, than confuted an adversary, who, notwithstanding his good-nature, was as fierce as he was mild. He contended not for victory, but truth; and desired rather to lead, than drive, men into the right way. All his thoughts are so just and noble, that his enemies must admire his true sense, though they cannot like his party, and must

* Author of Ecclesiastical Polity, 1594, and 1597.

confess that he is the fairest and yet the most terrible advocate that ever appeared against them. His arguments show him to be a philosopher, and his eloquence an orator; and he acts both parts so very well, that his best reasons are strengthened by his expressions. He fetches every thing from the original, traces all its causes to the bottom, and examines it throughout with great industry and sound judgement; that he may neither be imposed upon himself, nor put upon others. His language is so pure and correct, that, like good coin, it is still current; and a man, by his style, might easily take him for one of the best writers of our own age. In short then, Mr. Hooker had as much modesty as ingenuity; his imagination was equal to his judgement; his piety as remarkable as his learning. He has taught the Presbyterians how to live, and the Church of England how to write. I read a little last Sunday of Dr. Sherlock's Religious Assemblies*; it will not take me up above three or four more. When it is done, I will begin if you please with his

* "A Practical Discourse on," 1681.

Knowledge of Christ *, or with what other book you think fit. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant;

C. BOYLE.

LETTER VI.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

March 22, [1691-2.]

THOUGH I am uneasy at the report you say is raised about me, yet I am very much obliged to you for telling me of it; and I assure you, Sir, I will never take any thing of this nature ill at your hands. I protest to you ingenuously, I know no manner of ground for it: it is as false as it is malicious, for those that invented it must be men of much leisure, and as much malice. I keep to all sorts of business as I used to do; and my notions of morality are as firm and steady as ever they were, that is, too firm to be altered. However, to make the best advantage of this report, I will stand more upon my guard for the future: for I am very sensible how

* "A Discourse concerning the," 1673.

nice a thing reputation is; that it is as easily lost, as it is difficult to be got. If the world governs itself perfectly by humour and passion, I cannot help it; but I will take all the care I can it shall have no reason to be angry with me. You must pardon me, Sir, that I can give you no account of my studies now. I have not been well almost for this week. I was let blood on Saturday, and took physic yesterday. The fault is still in my stomach. Till that be remedied, I shall not be quite well. When I am better, you shall hear more from me, who am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

C. BOYLE.

LETTER VII.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR,

May 10, [1691.]

I Had a letter from Tonson last week, to let me know he should put the second volume of Plutarch in the press within two months. Lysander is almost done; I hope to have him corrected ready for the press * in

* It should seem by this, that Mr. Boyle's translation was intended to be inserted in the second edition.

less than a month: I had done him before now, if I had not been sick. I am pretty well now; and begin to fall into the old course of my studies. I am got through the first book of Euclid, and the three first of Cæsar. My Bible and Euclid take up my morning; Cæsar and exercise, Lyfander and some French, my afternoon. Tonson sent me Dryden's Cleomenes*, and told me it had the fortune to please the town; therefore I read it over, and found what I expected in it—much prophane-ness. He has indeed some fine expressions, but some very odd; and in my mind he has followed the history too close. He has little or no fable; however, upon the whole, one may see he hath taken a great deal of pains. I have made an end of Dr. Sherlock's Religious Assemblies: one may easily discover it is Dr. Sherlock's, and as easily that it is one of his first: he speaks to many points in it, and therefore he could not sift every one of them so clearly as if he had writ a whole book upon one single subject. His arguments are good; but short, not drawn to the best advantage;

* A tragedy, acted and printed in 1692. "Mrs. Barry," Dryden says, "in this tragedy excelled herself." *Preface.*

rather

FROM MR. ATTERBURY. 17

rather to instruct an honest man, than to convince a scholar. If you please to give yourself the trouble to let me know what book you think fit for me to read on Sundays, I will follow your directions ; for I am, &c.

L E T T E R VIII.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY *.

S I R,

Sunday, [1693.]

AFTER having been three years your pupil, I am sorry, for your own sake as well as mine, you do not think me able to write my own letters ; but I cannot easily take any thing ill from you, for I am satisfied you design nothing but kindness to me. I am so unhappy as to think my mother † cannot do so, when she proposes either my going to Ireland, or my continuance here. She must not be angry with me if I refuse both, for I cannot see but that either must (what, you say, my campaigning will) be my utter undoing. I am not obstinate, nor fond of

↪ Directed to him at Bridewell-house, London.

† Mary Countess of Orrery, daughter of Richard Earl of Dorset. Why Mr. Boyle takes no notice of his father, who was then living, does not appear.

being a soldier; nor by going to Flanders do I design to be one, but only to put myself in some way of getting bread. I will not particularly now dispute which way I am in prudence to take in order to make my fortune, because I design to see you in London this week, and talk over matters with you; only thus much I must declare, that if my mother casts me off, I do not break with her, but she with me. Mr. Codrington * and Mr.

* Christopher Codrington, a native of the island of Barbados. Coming early to England, he received his education first at a private school, and afterwards at Oxford, where he was admitted a Probationer Fellow of All Souls College, in 1689. Quitting the University, but retaining his Fellowship, he entered into the army; and soon recommended himself to the notice of his Prince, by whom he was honoured with promotion. On the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, he was appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Leeward Caribbee Islands. Some time before his death he resigned his government, and retired to the enjoyment of a studious and learned course of life, which ended at his seat in Barbados, on the 7th of April, 1710. He was buried first in the church of St. Michael in that island; but was afterwards re-interred on the 19th of June, 1716, in the chapel of All Souls, Oxford, where two orations were spoken by two fellows of that college; the one by Digby Cotes, the University Orator, at his interment; the other by Dr. Young. See the sixth volume of Young's Works, p. 129.

Freind.

Freind * know all the steps I have made in this business: they do not dislike my conduct; but think I am ill used, since I do nothing that is ill or dishonourable, if my mother forsakes me. Since I have mentioned Mr. Codrington, I must beg leave to justify him in this business. He never persuaded me to go into the army; but, like a true friend, told me he would not propose an end to me (and that indeed, I think, every man is to choose for himself): when I had chosen that, he would assist me as far as he could in the means. Really, Sir, I am infinitely obliged to him; and I am sure it will never be in my power, though it will always be in my inclination, to make him a suitable return. In a word, I am in town: upon conviction I am in the wrong, I will very readily alter my measures, and submit to better judgments. There is no post in the world I could be better pleased with than a groom of the bedchamber's place; but I doubt it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to get one in any time. When I come to town †, I will wait

* John, afterwards, M. D.

† Just before he says, "I am in town."

upon Sir William Temple, and let him know my pretensions are wholly at court, where I know his interest is very good; and not in the army *, if I can make my fortune any where else. If I were settled, I would willingly go with my mother to Ireland, and obey all her Ladyship's commands; but it is very unreasonable to take me there now, and never permit me to appear here where I design to spend my life.

I could say much more to you; but I will defer it, since I hope to see you at the latter end of this week, as I said before; and to assure you I am, with all sincerity, Sir, your hearty friend and servant,

C. BOYLE.

* When Mr. Boyle entered into the army, is not certain: but he rose afterwards to the rank of major-general; and had a regiment, at the head of which he distinguished himself at the battle of Malplaquet, when Earl of Orrery.

LET-

LETTER IX.

Mr. ATTERBURY to Mr. BOYLE, at
Lady ORRERY's, Park-Place.

S I R.

Chelsea, Tuesday-morn, [1698.]

I HAVE sent you back the papers *, which I believe the press waits for: Mr. Bennet †, as I remember, told me the impression would be finished this day.

Sir, you might have sent these papers to any body better than me, whose opinion all along in this controversy you have not seemed very willing to take, and whose pains in it, I find, have not pleased you. Some time and trouble this matter cost me. In laying the design of the book, in writing above half of

* "Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop examined, by the Hon. Charles Boyle, 1698." The publication of this book, as appears by the preface, "was hindered by Mr. Boyle's business, which sent him into, and detained him in Ireland."

† A sermon preached by Dr. Atterbury, at the funeral of this bookseller, in 1706, exposed him to a warm attack from Mr. Hoadly.

it *, in reviewing a good part of the rest, in transcribing the whole, and attending the press, half a year of my life went away. What I promised myself from hence was, that some service would be done to your reputation, and that you would think so. In the first of these I was not mistaken : in the latter I am. When you were abroad, Sir, the highest you could prevail with yourself to go in your opinion of the book was, "that you hoped it would do you no harm." When you returned, I supposed you would have seen that it had been far from hurting you. However, you have not thought fit to let me know your mind in this matter ; for, since you came to England, no one expression, that I know of, has dropped from you that could give me reason to believe you had any opinion of what I had done, or even took it kindly from me. Hitherto, Sir, I have endeavoured to serve your reputation, without your thanks, and against your will. But it does not become me always to do it. You will easily therefore excuse me if I meddle no further in a

* Hence "the suit of armour" (as Swift styles it) "given by all the gods" may be re-claimed for the original artificer.

matter where my management has had the ill-luck to displease you and a good friend of yours; whereas I had the vanity to think and hope that it would have sat ill on nobody but Mr. Wotton * and Dr. Bentley. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

F. ATTERBURY.

LETTER X.

Lord STANHOPE † to Dr. ATTERBURY,
Archdeacon of Totness.

SIR, Oa. [1703.]

I THOUGHT to have returned you thanks for both your letters before this; and in not doing it I confess myself guilty of a great omission. I am now very well satisfied that you

* William, afterwards D. D. author of "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning;" to which Dr. Bentley's "Dissertation on Phalaris" was originally annexed. He figures in Swift's "Battle of the Books."

† Philip, eldest son of the second earl of Chesterfield, whom he succeeded in that title in 1713. He was educated at Westminster-school, under the famous Dr. Busby, and was thought to have strong parts. He was a high Tory, if not a Jacobite; he was of a morose disposition, of violent passions, and often thought that people behaved

you can be a very good poet when you please, but not when I please. I am glad the venison was good, because it was only a taste of what I intend you shall have more of this winter. I am very much obliged to you for the service you offer to do for me at St. James's; but in that undertaking I do really think you will only lose your time to no purpose; for I expect nothing from the gentleman* that is there, but to see him bred up an ignorant, worthless, amorous fop.

I wish I could send you any news, in return to that which you have been pleased to divert me with; but I am certain there is none to be sent out of the country that a man of your taste can relish. So that I shall end this paper with assuring you that I am always, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

ill to him when they did not in the least intend it. See Dr. Maty's Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield; p. 268. He married, in December 1691, lady Elizabeth, one of the daughters of George Savile marquis of Halifax, by whom he had the late earl of Chesterfield and five other children. He died Jan. 27, 1725-6.

* Philip Dormer Stanhope, his eldest son; who is said to have been slighted by his father, and (after the death of his mother) was placed under the care of his grandmother lady Halifax. He was at this time about nine years old.

LET-

LETTER XI.

Lord STANHOPE to Dr. ATTERBURY,
Dean of CARLISLE.

MR. DEAN,

Lichfield, Oct. 6, 1705.

I WISH I was but as sure of good health as I am of your kindness and friendship to me. Besides a great deafness* that hangs upon me, I have a rheumatic pain that runs all over me; so that I have not been out of my doors these ten days. I must confess (except it be your brother Binckes†) I lose no conversation by being deaf in this place, which is just as well stocked with good manners and polite conversation as your friend Dr. Wake‡

* This seems a family disorder; his lordship's sons, the late Lord Chesterfield and Sir William Stanhope, being both much afflicted with it.

† William Binckes, D. D. was installed a prebendary of Litchfield, June 19, 1703. He died exactly on that day nine years, and was buried at Leamington in Warwickshire. An anonymous pamphlet, supposed to be written by him in 1697, gave rise to the controversy mentioned in the next note.

‡ Dr. Atterbury had been four years engaged in a controversy with Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Wake "on the Rights, &c. of Convocations."

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is with deep learning, solid sense, and the knack of writing intelligible English !

Really, Mr. Dean, I would write a play, to divert myself, and pass away time, but that I am at such a distance from the Earl of Orrery, that I cannot in conscience ask his Lordship's assistance *. Since I cannot hear, I would willingly court the ladies in a new fashion, by writing love-verses to them, but that you know very well that the author of "Boyle against Bentley" long ago refused me his assistance † ; which, I believe, is what the modern Wotton, or the learned Wake, could never have boggled at ; so much more humane and candid are some clergymen than others ! ‡ As my worthy landlord, the Prelate † of this place, whose

* This seems intended as a sneer on his Lordship's comedy, "As you find it," acted in 1703, and printed in 4to that year.

† See p. 22.

‡ Dr. John Hough, Bishop of Oxford, 1691 ; of Litchfield and Coventry, 1699 ; of Worcester, 1717. He died, full of years and honour, May 8, 1743.—"The sweet and amiable character of this Prelate," says Dr. Nash, in his History of Worcestershire, "cannot be too much admired, or too highly extolled ; he lived in this county 18

years

breast is full of tenderness and love for weak
dissenting

years beloved by every one; if he had any fault, it arose from an easiness of temper, and too great partiality for his old and faithful servants. I cannot help remembering some traits of him, which, happening when I was a boy, and receiving from him frequent marks of civility and regard, have made strong impression on my mind, tho' to others they may appear trifling. His constant beverage after dinner, when upwards of 90 years of age, was strong beer and sugar; and any of his guests were sure to ingratiate themselves with him, that would partake of this cup, and say they liked it. One day after dinner a young clergyman, curate of a neighbouring parish, taking his leave, and making many awkward bows, ran against, and threw down on the floor, a favourite barometer of the Bishop's: the young man was frightened, and extremely concerned; but the good old Prelate, with all the complacency possible, went to him, and said, "Sir, do not be uneasy: I have observed this glass almost daily for upwards of 70 years, and never saw it *so low* before." Some years before his death, he made it a rule to keep a thousand pounds in the house, wherewith to pay some legacies and funeral expences: one day the collectors of the charity called "The Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts" came to him, to apply for his contribution; the bishop called his steward, and told him to give those gentlemen 500*l*. The steward, who stood facing his lordship, and behind the collectors, made signs to his master, that it was too much; that he did not know

dissenting consciences, where Binckes's and

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Kimber-

know how to get the money. His lordship replied, "You are right, H. you think that I have not given enough; give the gentlemen 1000 l. you will find it in such a place!" with which the old steward, though unwillingly, was forced to comply. Dr. Nash has also given a curious letter from Bp. Hough to Mr. Sandby, relative to his portrait, written in a strong firm hand, at the age of 91; and cites this excellent delineation of the Bishop's character from the Persian Letters of Lord Lyttelton: "At his first entrance into the world he distinguished himself by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a considerable share in bringing on the Revolution that preserved it. His principles never altered by his preferment. He never prostituted his pen, nor debased his character, by party disputes, or blind compliance. Though he is warmly serious in the belief of his religion, he is moderate to all who differ from him: he knows no distinction of party, but extends his good offices alike to whig and tory; a friend to Virtue under every denomination; an enemy to Vice under any colours. His health and old age are the effects of a temperate life, and a quiet conscience: though he is now some years above fourscore, nobody ever thought he lived too long, unless it was out of an impatience to succeed him. This excellent person entertained me with the greatest humanity, and seemed to take a peculiar delight in being useful and instructive to a stranger. To tell thee the truth, Mirza, I was affected with the piety and virtue of this teacher: the Christian religion

Kimberleys * are obdurate and inflexible. I am glad the buck pleased you so well ; and must let you know, that a doe is not so good before the winter be over. I am, good Mr. Dean, your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

STANHOPE.

religion appeared so amiable in his character and manners, that if the force of education had not rooted Mahometism in my heart, he would certainly have made a convert of me."—Nor should Mr. Browne's elegant encomium on him, in his Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, be omitted :

*Talis erat, gratâ semper quem mente recordor,
Ille, decus mitræ, libertatisque satellites,
(Dum tanti tempus propugnatoris egebat)
Houghius ; hic, numeros prope centenarius omnes
Cum vitæ explebat ; florenti plenus honore,
Sensibus integris, sine morbo, expersque doloris,
Vivendique Satur, sic vitâ exhibat, ut aëtor
E scenâ egregius, toto plaudente theatro,
Aut qui post stadium summa cum laude peractum,
Victor Olympiæ poscit sibi præmia palmæ.*

II. 283.

* Jonathan Kimberley succeeded to his friend Binckes's prebendal stall in the cathedral church of Lichfield.

LET.

LETTER XII.

Lord STANHOPE to Dean ATTERBURY.

MR. DEAN,

Litchfield, Dec. 4, 1705.

I AM at this time so ill that I am scarce able to tell you I had your letter, or return you thanks for sending me the fine discourse you made before the Queen *. I am convinced, by the reading of it, that you had no assistance in your dull sermon from the Earl of Orrery, any more than he had from you in the witty play he writ †. I am very much of your mind, that, should God be so over-gracious as to favour us with miracles, they would make little or no impression in the present age we live in. Libertines would not give any credit to them, for their own ease and tranquillity, because that would give too great disturbance to the lusts and vices they are totally devoted to. And truly I am of opinion (considering how mighty weak we all are in our natural simplicity) that, should that wise man your Archbishop of Canter-

* "A standing Revelation the best means of Conviction:" from Luke xvi. 31. preached on Oct. 28, 1705.

† See note on p. 26.

bury* see one rise from the dead, he would, in a day or two afterwards, impute it to nothing but a dream, or, it may be, to the indigested fumes that arose from his eating too many black-puddings over-night. Thus trivial accidents, as a debauch of black-puddings and the like, may cloud human understandings so much, that the greatest miracles would quickly lose their efficacy with us poor mortals. I return you thanks for the two Addresses of Convocation you sent me; and am, Sir, your very affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

LETTER XIII.

Lord STANHOPE to Dean ATTERBURY.

MR. DEAN,

Dec. 17, 1705.

I HAD a letter from you this day; and a very diverting one inclosed in it from a mad imaginary general †, who is so happy as to be fond of that which my father ‡ and all

* Dr. Tenison was then Archbishop.

† Q. Duke of Marlborough?

‡ "Who was thought," says Dr. Maty, "to have shared with his Master the affections of the famous Lady Castlemaine, a trespass which was slightly repented by the easy King."

the

the world, besides himself, were weary of long ago. I think him (as Dryden says of the last Duke of Buckingham) *a happy mad-man**; since he can at this time be pleased with Cleveland † for his bed-fellow, without so much as calling back the idea of *quantum mutatus ab illo*. I have reason to believe my kinsman the Brigadier ‡ will be pleased with

* Dryden's words of Zimri are, "Blest mad-man!"

† Barbara, daughter and heir to William Villiers lord viscount Grandison, and wife to Roger earl of Castlemaine. In 1670 she was made baroness of Nonsuch, countess of Southampton, and dutchess of Cleveland, and died Oct. 9, 1709. "While the duke of Marlborough was an Ensign of the guards," says the late Lord Chesterfield, in his 136th Letter to his Son, "the Graces protected and promoted him; for the Dutches of Cleveland, then favourite mistress to King Charles the Second, struck by those very Graces, gave him five thousand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather Halifax; which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune. His figure was beautiful; but his manner was irresistible, by either man or woman."

‡ James Stanhope, afterwards created earl of Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, and father of the present earl. He was first cousin to this letter-writer's father.

any

any thing of yours; and I do not see which way it can be made more acceptable to him than by coming from your own hands. You shewed a great deal of respect and civility in sending the Earl of Orrery your sermon; else I believe his Lordship's taste lies altogether now in ingenious and witty plays; or (it may be) his time is taken up with correcting the English Phalaris, so lately come out. I have often seen such a virtuoso as the Lord Lemster * find fault with a copy in painting, when he never understood the excellency of the original. But I will not make applications. I must now quarrel with you, Mr. Dean of Carlisle, because I am informed this day, that you have put out in print a mighty ingenious pamphlet, but that you have been pleased to father it upon one Mrs. Astell †, a female friend and witty companion of your wife's. Why could not the Dean of Carlisle have sent me this pamphlet, as well as Prior's ‡

* So created in 1692, the collector of many ancient Greek, Roman, and Egyptian statues. He was grandfather to the present Earl of Pomfret.

† The pamphlet here alluded to was intituled, "The Christian Religion as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England, 1705," 8vo. See a letter of Dr. Atterbury relating to this lady, vol. I. p. 19.

‡ Letter to Mons. Boileau Despreaux, occasioned by the Victory at Blenheim in 1704.

verses, or Feilding's* mad letter to Skipworth?
 I shall shortly desire you and Dr. Smallidge to
 accept of a doe between you; and am, in the
 mean time, your most affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

LETTER XIV.

Dr. SWIFT to Dean ATTERBURY.

SIR,

Sept. 1, 1711.

I Congratulate with the college, the uni-
 versity, and the kingdom, and condole
 with myself, upon your new dignity †. The
 virtue I would affect, by putting my own in-
 terests out of the case, has failed me in this
 juncture. I only consider that I shall want
 your conversation, your friendship, your pro-
 tection, and your good offices, when I can
 least spare them ‡. I would have come among
 the

* A few days before the date of this letter Mr.
 Robert Feilding (better known by the name of *Beau*
Feilding, and delineated in the *Tatler* N° 50. under
 the name of *Orlando the Fair*) had married the
 Dutchess of Cleveland, having married a former
 wife only sixteen days before, and was then under
 prosecution. The letter abovementioned relates pro-
 bably to that business; and the *mad imaginary Gene-*
ral in p. 31, was Feilding. See also p. 451.

† The Deanry of Christ-church.

‡ As the intimacy between these two great men
 had not then been of long standing, it may be
 amusing to trace its rise and progress. About four
 months before the date of this letter, Swift had
 taken lodgings at Chelsea. "I got here," says he,

"with

the crowd of those who make you compliments on this occasion, if I could have brought
a chair-

“with Patrick and my portmanteau, for six-pence,
“and pay six shillings a week for one silly room,
“with confounded coarse sheets. I lodge just
“over-against Dr. Atterbury’s house; and yet
“perhaps I shall not like the place the better for
“that.” Journal to Stella, April 26, 1711.—
“I sent over to Mrs. Atterbury, to know whether
“I might wait on her, but she is gone a-visiting;
“we have exchanged some compliments; but I
“have not seen her yet.” May 2.—“I did not go
“to town to-day, it was so terrible rainy; nor
“have I stirred out of my room till eight this
“evening; when I crossed the way, to see Mrs. At-
“terbury, and thank her for her civilities. She
“would needs send me some veal and small-beer
“and ale to-day at dinner.” May 3.—“Dr. Freind
“came this morning to visit Atterbury’s lady and
“children, as physician; and persuaded me to go
“to town in his chariot.” May 9.—“Since I came
“home, I have been sitting with the Prolocutor
“Dean Atterbury, who is my neighbour over the
“way, but generally keeps in town with his con-
“vocation.” May 14.—“I dined with Mr. Prior
“to-day, at his house, with Dean Atterbury and
“others.” May 16.—“I sat with Dean Atterbury
“till one o’clock, after I came home.” May 18.—
“I staid at home till five o’clock, and dined with
“Dean Atterbury; then went by water to Mr.
“Harley’s, where the Saturday’s club was met.”
May 19.—“This is the first wet walk I have had
“in a month’s time that I came here; but how-
“ever I got to bed, after a short visit to Atter-
“bury.” May 24.—“My Lord [Oxford] sat me
D 2 “down

a chearful countenance with me. I am full of envy. It is too much, in so bad an age,
for

“down at a coffee-house, where I waited for the
“Dean of Carlisle’s chariot to bring me to Chelsea; for it has rained prodigiously all this afternoon. The Dean did not come himself, but
“sent me his chariot; which has cost me two
“shillings to the coachman; and so I am got
“home; and Lord knows what is become of
“Patrick!” May 25.—“It was bloody hot walking to-day; and I was so lazy I dined where
“my new gown was, at Mrs. Vanhomrigh’s*; and
“came back like a fool, and the Dean of Carlisle
“has sat with me till eleven.” May 28.—“I am
“proposing to my Lord to erect a society or academy for correcting and settling our language,
“that we may not perpetually be changing as we
“do. He enters mightily into it; so does the
“Dean of Carlisle.” June 22.—Dr. Gastrell and I
“dined by invitation with the Dean of Carlisle.”
June 23.—“They still keep my neighbour Atterbury in suspense about the deanry of Christchurch†, which has been above six months vacant; and he is heartily angry.” June 26.—
“This is the last night I lie at Chelsea; and I got
“home early, and sat two hours with the Dean, and
“eat victuals, having had a very scurvy dinner.”

* “My way is this; I leave my best gown and perruwig at
“Mrs. Vanhomrigh’s, then walk up the Pall-mall, through the
“Park, out at Buckingham-house, and so to Chelsea a little
“beyond the church: I set out about sun-set, and get here in
“something less than an hour; it is two good miles, and just five
“thousand seven hundred and forty-eight steps; so there is four
“miles a day walking, without reckoning what I walk while I stay
“in town.” *Journal, May 15.*

† It was intended for his friend and successor Dr. Smalridge.

July

for a person so inclined, and so able to do good, to have so great a scene of shewing his inclinations and abilities. If

July 4.—“This day I left Chelsea for good.”

July 5.—“I walked to Chelsea, and was there

“by nine this morning; and the Dean of Carlisle

“and I crossed the water to Battersea, and went

“in his chariot to Greenwich, where we dined at

“Dr. Gastrell’s, and passed the afternoon at Lewis-

“ham, at the Dean of Canterbury’s*; and there I

“saw Moll Stanhope, who is grown monstrously

“tall, but not so handsome as formerly. It is the first

“little rambling journey I have had this summer

“about London; and they are the agreeablest

“pastimes one can have, in a friend’s coach and

“good company.” July 14.—Dean Atterbury

“sent to me to dine with him at Chelsea; I re-

“fused his coach, and walked; and am come

“back by seven.” July 19.—“The Dean of Carlisle

“sat with me to-day till three.” Aug. 21.—“I

“walked to-day to Chelsea, and dined with the

“Dean of Carlisle, who is laid up with the gout.

“It is now fixed that he is to be Dean of Christ

“church in Oxford. I was advising him to use

“his interest to prevent any misunderstanding be-

“tween our ministers; but he is too wise to med-

“dle, though he fears the thing and the conse-

“quences as much as I. He will get into his

“own quiet Deanry, and leave them to them-

“selves; and he is in the right.” Aug. 28.—

“To night at six Dr. Atterbury, and Prior, and I,

“and Dr. Freind, met at Dr. Freind’s house at

“Westminster, who is master of the school: there

“we sat till one, and were good-enough company.”

Feb. 1, 1711-12.—“I visited the Secretary, and

* Dr. Stanhope. See vol. I. p. 48.

If great ministers take up this exploded custom of rewarding merit, I must retire to Ireland, and wait for better times. The college and you ought to pray for another change at court, otherwise I can easily foretel that their joy and your quiet will be short. Let me advise you to place your books in moveable cases: lay in no great stock of wine, nor make any great alterations in your lodgings at Christ-church, unless you are sure they are such as your successor will approve and pay for. I am afraid the poor college little thinks of this,

“ Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aureâ.”

I am going to Windsor with Mr. Secretary*; and hope to wait on you either at Bridewell or Chelsea. I am, with great respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most obliged humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

“ then walked to Chelsea, to dine with the Dean
 “ of Christ-church; who was engaged to Lord
 “ Orrery, with some other Christ-church men. He
 “ made me go with him, whether I would or no;
 “ for they have this long time admitted me a
 “ Christ-church man.” March 13, 1712. — “ I
 “ walked this morning to Chelsea, to see Dr. At-
 “ terbury Dean of Christ-church; I had business
 “ with him, about entering Mr. Fitzmaurice, Lord
 “ Kerry’s son, into his college.” Feb. 24, 1712-13.

* St. John. See Journal to Stella, Sept. 1, 1711.

LET.

LETTER XV.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, The Country in Ireland, Aug. 3, 1713.

IT is with the greatest pleasure I heard of your Lordship's promotion; I mean that particular promotion * which I believe is agreeable to you, though it does not mend your fortune. There is but one other change I could wish you, because I have heard you prefer it before all the rest; and that likewise is now ready †, unless it be thought too soon, and that you are made to wait till another person has used it for a step to cross the water ‡. Though I am here in a way of sinking into utter oblivion, for *hæc latebræ nec dulces, nec, si mihi credis, amænæ*; yet I shall challenge the continuance of your Lordship's favour: and whenever I come to London,

* The Deanry of Westminster and Bishoprick of Rochester. Dr. Atterbury was installed Dean June 16, and consecrated Bishop July 4, 1713.

† The Bishoprick of London was then vacant by the death of Dr. Compton, who died July 7, 1713.

‡ To Lambeth.

shall with great assurance cross the Park to your Lordship's house at Westminster, as if it were no more than crossing the street at Chelsea*. I talked at this threatening rate so often to you about two years past, that you are not now to forget it.

Pray, my Lord, do not let your being made a Bishop hinder you from cultivating the politer studies, which your heart was set upon when you went to govern Christ-church. Providence has made you successor to a person †, who, - though of a much inferior genius, turned all his thoughts that way; and, I have been told, with great success, by his countenance to those who deserved. I envy Dr. Freind ‡ that he has you for his inspector; and I envy you for having such a person in your district, and whom you love so well. Shall not I have liberty to be sometimes a third amongst you, though I am an Irish Dean?

Verecūm in patriā crassoque sub aëre natus ||.

A very disordered head hindered me from writing earlier to your Lordship, when I first

* See the note in p. 34.

† Bp. Sprat.

‡ Dr. Robert Freind, then head-master of Westminster-school.

|| Juvenal, Sat. X. 50.

heard of your preferment; and I have reproached myself of ingratitude, when I remembered your kindness in sending me a letter upon the Deanry they thought fit to throw me into; to which I am yet a stranger, being forced into the country, in one of my old parishes*, to ride about for a little health. I hope to have the honour of asking your Lordship's blessing some time in October. In the mean while, I desire your Lordship to believe me to be, with very great respect and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER XVI.

MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq. to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD,

Paris, March 23, 1714.

AT the same time that I congratulate your succession to the House of Lords, and your being in power to continue your zeal for the Church, and your services to the Nation, I take leave to recommend a private

* Laracor and Rathbeggin.

charity

charity to you; that you would take Henry Gheft (of whose parts and learning Dr. Freind will give your Lordship an account) to our well-beloved college of Christ-church. This is mortification enough for a Cambridge-man to ask; but I persuade myself Dr. Atterbury will not deny my request. I am, with great respect, my good Lord and dear school-fellow, your most obedient and most humble servant,

M. PRIOR.

LETTER XVII.

Lord Chancellor HARCOURT * to
Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, Tuesday evening, Aug. 10, 1714.

MY neglect of writing † is inexcusable. I doubt it may be justly taken as an affront. I am determined now to do it, late as it is. An ill excuse is worse than none. My station ‡ will excuse the presumption. I wish I had your thoughts to-morrow morning, in writing; pray send me two lines if I

* Created Viscount Harcourt in 1721. He was great grandfather to the present Earl.

† To K. George I. then just arrived from Hanover.

‡ Which his Lordship did not long retain; being succeeded by Lord Cowper Sept. 21, 1714.
must

must see you no more. To excuse the neglect, to justify the presumption, and not appear mean, under the apprehensions I ought to have of being removed, are matters to be nicely considered. Your faithful servant,

HARCOURT.

Whatever I write, will be certainly shewn.

LETTER XVIII

Bp. ATTERBURY to Lord Chancellor

HARCOURT.

MY LORD,

Westminster, Aug. 11, 1714.

HAD I any reason to think your Lordship could want my assistance in any thing, I would not stir from the town: but I am far from that vanity. In the present case, I am sure, there is no need of me; for my poor opinion is, that the more plainly and nakedly, and without reserve, your Lordship expresses your mind in that letter, the more welcome it will be.

There is no art requisite towards giving him * proper assurances that he has not a more faithful subject within his dominions,

* King George the First.

nor one that desires more to approve himself such by real services; [and] that you thought the best service you could do at this important juncture, was to make use of any advantage your station might give you, towards uniting the hands and hearts of all his subjects, and securing the quiet of his kingdoms.

There is one way of addressing him indeed, which would require more skill; that is, if your Lordship thought fit to write, not merely as a single person, but in some measure as the head of an interest. This I could wish your Lordship would do, and would take the steps proper to enable you to do it; but I do not find your Lordship so disposed; and therefore am silent on that subject*. I am your Lordship's ever faithful and obedient servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* "It was with difficulty Queen Anne was persuaded to make Atterbury a Bishop; which she did at last, on the repeated importunities of Lord Harcourt, who pressed the Queen to do it, because she had before disappointed him, in not placing Sacheverell on the Bench. After her decease, Atterbury vehemently urged his friends to proclaim the Pretender; and on their refusal, upbraided them for their timidity with many oaths; for he was accustomed to swear, on any strong provocation." Dr. WARTON.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY*.

MY LORD,

Dublin, March 24, 1715-16.

AS much as your Lordship's thoughts and time are employed at present, you must give me leave to interrupt them, and, which is worse, for a trifle; though, by the accidents of time and party, of some consequence and great vexation to me. I am here at the head of three-and-twenty dignitaries and prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppose me upon all occasions in the chapter-house; and a ringleader among them hath presumed to debate my power of proposing, or my negative, though it is what the Deans of this cathedral have possessed for time immemorial, and what hath never been once disputed. Our constitution was taken from that of Sarum; and the knowledge of what is practised there in

* See the Bishop's answer to this letter in vol. I.
p. 30.

the like case would be of great use to me. I have written this post to Dr. Younger *, to desire

* Dean of Salisbury. See vol. I. p. 30.—“When
 “ Dr. Younger was abroad upon his travels, he
 “ passed some time at the court of Hanover,
 “ where he was well received and esteemed, by
 “ the Princess Sophia and her family, before
 “ ever they came into England. When George I.
 “ succeeded to the throne, Dr. Younger was Dean
 “ of Salisbury, Residentiary of St. Paul’s, and De-
 “ puty Clerk of the Closet, in which station he had
 “ served under Queen Anne, and was continued
 “ under George I. The King was very glad to
 “ renew his acquaintance with him; and in the
 “ closet, as he stood waiting behind his chair,
 “ turned often, and talked with him; and the
 “ more as Dr. Younger did, what few could do,
 “ converse with the King in High Dutch. The
 “ King used to call him *his little Dean*, and was
 “ so condescending and gracious to him, that he
 “ was looked upon, in some measure, as a favou-
 “ rite, and likely to rise to higher preferment.
 “ This was by no means agreeable to the Minis-
 “ ters; for Dr. Younger was reputed to be what
 “ they called a Tory; and a letter of office was
 “ sent to dismiss him, the King having no farther
 “ occasion for his service. It was not long before
 “ the King missed him, and asked ‘What was
 “ become of his little Dean, that now he never
 “ saw him?’—It was answered, ‘That he was
 “ dead.’—‘Dead!’ said the King, I am sorry for
 “ it; for I meant to do something for him.’ This
 “ the Ministers understood well enough; and
 “ therefore had removed him out of the way.

desire he would inform me in this matter ; but having only a slender acquaintance with him, I would beg your Lordship to second my request, that the Dean would please to let me know the practice of his cathedral and his power in this point. I would likewise desire your Lordship to let me know how it is at Westminster, and the two other Deaneries you had, and in any other Cathedrals with whose customs you may be acquainted:

“ Such an imposition, one would think, could
“ hardly be put upon any Prince. It was a bold
“ stroke, even when the King was a stranger to
“ our people, and a stranger to our language ; but
“ even then it did not escape detection. For,
“ some time after, the King went a progress into
“ the West of England ; and among other places
“ was at Salisbury, and in the cathedral there
“ seeing the Dean, he called him eagerly up to
“ him, and said, ‘ My little Dean, I am glad to
“ see you alive ; they told me you were dead : but
“ where have you been all this while, and what has
“ prevented my seeing you as usual ? ’ He men-
“ tioned the letter of dismissal he had re-
“ ceived ; and said, ‘ He thought it would ill be-
“ come him after that to give his Majesty any
“ further trouble. ’ — ‘ Oh ! ’ said the King, warmly,
“ ‘ I perceive how this matter is ; but—with an
“ oath—you shall be the first Bishop that I will
“ make. ’ But it happened that Dr. Younger,
“ being advanced in years, died before any Bishop,
“ so that he never obtained the good effects of the
“ King’s gracious intentions.” Bp. NEWTON.

Pray,

Pray, my Lord, pardon this idle request from one that loves and esteems you, as you know I do. I once thought it would never be my misfortune to entertain you at so scurvy a rate, at least not at so great a distance, or with so much constraint.

"Sis felix, nostrumque leves [I do not like
"quicunque] laborem

"Et quo sub coelo tandem quibus orbis in oris
"Jactemur, doceas."

The greatest felicity I now have is, that I am utterly ignorant of the most public events that happen in the world; "*Multa gemens* * "*ignominiam plagasque,*" &c. I am, with the greatest respect and truth, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

* This phrase seems to have been deeply impressed on the Dean's mind. He uses it again, in a letter to Mr. Pope, Oct. 30, 1727; "I forgave Sir Robert a thousand pounds, *multa gemens.*"

LET.

LETTER XX.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD,

April 28, 1716.

I AM extremely obliged to your Lordship for the trouble you have given yourself in answering at length a very insignificant letter. I shall entirely follow your Lordship's advice, to the best of my skill. Your conjecture from whence my difficulties take their rise are perfectly true. It is all party. But the right is certainly on my side, if there be any thing in constant immemorial custom. Besides, though the first scheme of this cathedral was brought from Sarum, yet by several subsequent grants, from Popes, Kings, Archbishops, and Acts of Parliament, the Dean has great prerogatives. He visits the Chapter as Ordinary, and the Archbishop only visits by the Dean. The Dean can suspend and sequester any member, and punishes all crimes except heresy, and one or two more reserved for the Archbishop. No lease can be let without him. He holds a court-leet in his district, and is exempt from the Lord Mayor, &c. No Chapter can be called but by him, and he dissolves them at pleasure. He disposes absolutely of the Petty

Canons and Vicars Choral places. All the Dignitaries, &c. swear canonical obedience to him. These circumstances put together, I presume, may alter the case in your Lordship's judgement. However, I shall, as your Lordship directs me, do my utmost to divert this controversy as much as I can. I must add one thing, that no Dignitary can preside without a power from the Dean, who, in his absence, makes a Sub-dean, and limits him as he pleases. And so much for Deanries, which I hope I shall never trouble your Lordship with again.

I send this inclosed, and without superscription, to be sent or delivered to you by a famous friend of mine, and devoted servant of your Lordship's.

I congratulate with England for joining with us here in the fellowship of *slavery*. It is not so terrible a thing as you imagine; we have long lived under it, and whenever you are disposed to know how you ought to behave yourselves in your new condition, you need go no further than me for a director. But because we are resolved to go beyond you, we have transmitted a bill to England, to be returned here, giving the government, and six of the council, power for three years, to imprison

imprison whom they please for *three months*, without any trial or examination: and I expect to be among the first of those upon whom this law will be executed. We have also outdone you in the business of Ben Hoadly, and have recommended to a Bishoprick one * whom you would not allow a Curate in the smallest of your parishes. Does your Lordship know that, as much as I have been used to lies in England, I am under a thousand uneasinesses about some reports relating to a person † that you and I love very well? I have writ to a lady ‡ upon that subject,

* Dr. Charles Carr, bishop of Killaloe.

† When the incurable breach arose between the two great ministers of Queen Anne, Bishop Atterbury took a decided part with Bolingbroke. On this occasion Mr. Lewis tells Dr. Swift [Aug. 10, 1714] "The earth has not produced such monsters as Mercurialis [Bolingbroke], and his companion [Harcourt], and the prelate [Atterbury]. The last openly avows he never had obligations to the dragon [Oxford], and loads him with ten thousand crimes; though his greatest, in reality, was preferring him."

‡ Lady Bolingbroke; who, in her answer, dated Aug. 4, 1716, says, "To my misfortune, I am still kept in town, soliciting my unfortunate business. I have found great favour from his Majesty. But form is a tedious thing to wait upon. Since it is my fate, I must bear it with patience, and perfect it if I can; for there

ject, and am impatient for an answer. I am gathering up a thousand pounds, and intend to finish my life upon the interest of it in Wales.

GOD ALMIGHTY preserve your Lordship *miseris succurrere rebus*, whether you understand or relish Latin or no. But it is a great deal your fault if you suffer us *all to be undone*; for God never gave such talents without expecting they should be used to preserve a nation. There is a Doctor* in your neighbourhood to whom I am a very humble servant. I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most dutiful, &c. J. SWIFT.

Some persons go this summer for England; and if Dr. Younger be talked with, I hope you will so order it that it may not be to my disadvantage†.

“is nothing like following business one's self. I am unwilling to stir without the seals, which I hope to have soon. I hope, one time or other, his majesty will find my lord has been misrepresented; and, by that means, he may be restored to his country once more with honour; or else, however harsh it may sound out of my mouth, I had rather wear black.”

“Dr. R. Freind; from whom there is a letter to Swift in the Dean's Works, in which he says, The Bishop [Atterbury] and my brother are much yours, and very desirous of a happy meeting with you. Before this can be with you, you will be able to guess how soon that may happen.”

† Q. An exchange for the Deanry of Sarum?

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD,

Dublin, July 18, 1717.

SOME persons of distinction, lately come from England, and not unknown to your Lordship, have made me extremely pleased and proud, by telling me that your Lordship was so generous as to defend me against an idle story that passed in relation to a letter of mine to the Archbishop of Dublin. I have corresponded for many years with his Grace, though we generally differed in politics, and therefore our letters had often a good mixture of controversy. I confess likewise that I have been his Grace's advocate, where he had not many others. About nine months ago I writ a letter to him in London (for in my little station it is convenient there should be some commerce between us); and in a short time after I had notice from several friends, that a passage in my letter was shewn * to several persons, and a consequence

E 3

drawn

* "I am told, the archbishop of Dublin shews
 "a letter of yours, reflecting on the high-flying
 "clergy.

drawn from thence, that I was wholly gone over to other principles more in fashion, and wherein I might better find my account. I neglected this report, as thinking it might soon die; but found it gathered strength, and spread to Oxford, and this kingdom; and some gentlemen, who lately arrived here, assured me they had met it an hundred times, with all the circumstances of disadvantage that are usually tacked to such stories by the great candour of mankind. It should seem as if I were somebody of importance; and if so, I should think the wishes not only of my friends, but of my party, might dispose them rather to believe me innocent, than condemn me unheard. Upon the first intelligence I had of this affair, I made a shift to recollect the only passage in that letter which could be any way liable to misinterpretation. I told the Archbishop—we had an account of a sett of people in London, who were erecting a new church, upon the maxim that every thing was void, since the Revolution, in the church as well as the state—that all priests must be re-ordained, bishops again clergy. I fancy you have writ to him in an “*ironical*” style, and that he would have it other-wise understood.” *Mr. Lewis to Dean Swift,* Jan. 12, 1716-17.

confe-

consecrated, and in like manner of the rest—that I knew not what there was in it of truth—that it was impossible such a scheme should ever pass—and that I believed if the court, upon this occasion, would shew some good-will to the church, discourage those who ill-treated the clergy, &c. it would be the most popular thing they could think of.—I keep no copies of letters; but this, I am confident, was the substance of what I wrote; and that every other line in the letter which mentioned public affairs would have atoned for this, if it had been a crime, as I think it was not in that juncture, whatever may be my opinion at present; for, I confess, my thoughts change every week, like those of a man in an incurable consumption, who daily finds himself more and more decay.

The trouble I now give your Lordship is an ill return to your goodness in defending me; but it is the usual reward of goodness, and therefore you must be content. In the mean time, I am in an hopeful situation, torn to pieces by pamphleteers and libellers on that side the water, and by the whole body of the ruling party on this; against which all the obscurity I live in will not defend me. Since I came last to this kingdom,

it hath been the constant advice of all my church-friends, that I should be more cautious. To oppose me in every thing relating to my station, is made a merit in my Chapter; and I shall probably live to make some Bishops as poor, as Luther made many rich. I profess to your Lordship, that what I have been writing is only with regard to the good opinion of your Lordship, and of a very few others with whom you will think it of any consequence to an honest man that he should be set right. I am sorry that those who call themselves Churchmen should be industrious to have it thought that their number is lessened, even by so inconsiderable an one as myself. But I am sufficiently recompensed, that your Lordship knows me best, to whom I am so ambitious to be best known. God be thanked, I have but a few to satisfy. The bulk of my censurers are strangers, or ill judges, or worse than either; and if they will not obey your orders to correct their sentiments of me, they will meet their punishment in your Lordship's disapprobation; which I would not incur for all their good words put together, and printed in twelve volumes folio. I am, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most dutiful, and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

FROM BP. ATTERBURY.

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LETTER XXII.

Mr. PRIOR to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY DEAR LORD,

Westminster, Aug. 25, 1718.

MR. Clough (my godson) whom, according to my promise made for him at the font, I have not only bred a Christian, but a Clergyman, tells me, that the vicarage of Dartford is vacant, by the death of Mr. Price; and that he has a mind to succeed him in a place which may give him opportunity of doing good, and learning more so to do, by being under your Lordship's jurisdiction and government. If your Lordship is of the same opinion, I hope he will obtain what he desires, and I believe deserves; and I am sure my writing in his behalf will do him no disservice. I would add more, but by a confounded distemper (which we physicians call *Morbus Cholera**, and which you divines would heretofore have been addicted to think the possession of devils), I can hold my pen no longer than to say, *dum spiritus hos reget artus*, I am entirely, my good Lord, yours,

M. PRIOR.

* Flux and vomiting. Wesley.

LET-

LETTERS TO AND
LETTER XXIII.

Bp. ATTERBURY to Mr. PRIOR.

DEAR SIR,

Bromley, Aug. 26, 1718.

THE first news I heard of your being ill, was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself; and depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not easily be shook off: You will hear more of it, if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined), will keep it at a distance. Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already disposed of the living *. However, I frankly said to him, what I now say to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market-town, which requires perpetual residence, and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor-canonry †, is of a value equal to

* To Mr. Charles Chambers, who was collated to it Sept. 20, 1718.

† Of Rochester, by which Dean and Chapter Mr. John Clough was presented to the vicarage of Ashford in Kent, in August, 1721. He died Dec. 4, 1764.

that

that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both consistent. That is a scheme which I can no way approve, especially in a young single man, who does not want a tolerable support; for he has a good £. 100 *per annum* now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully justify myself when I see you—but when will that be? Do you remember the solemn promise you made me of coming over hither this summer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience; my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted; and one of my poetical neighbours, who observed my uneasiness, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied these verses of Virgil to me:

Mirabar, quid *masse* Deos, *Francisce*, vocares:

Cui pendere suâ patereris in arbore poma.

Tityrus hinc aberat: ipsæ te, Tityre, pinus,

Ipsi te fontes, ipsa hæc arbuſta vocabant*.

* Oft, Amaryllis, I with wonder heard

Thy vows to heaven in soft distress preferr'd:

With wonder oft thy lingering fruits survey'd;

Nor knew for whom the bending branches stay'd:

'Twas Tityrus was away—for thee detain'd,

The pines, the shrubs, the bubbling springs complain'd,

Dr. WARTON,

And

And what excuse shall I make for Tityrus; that he neglected his little friends for the sake of his great ones, that he was paying his court, and getting the colic? You know what Tityrus says for himself in the lines that follow :

Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat,
Nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos *.

Would I could say of any one of those *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum

Ludere quæ vellem calamo permittit agresti †!

Those two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart : they are worth the whole eclogue.

You see what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourself, by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without observing to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this case has over the original. Virgil, in those five little words, *dum spiritus hos reget artus*, has ex-

* What could I do? where else expect to find
One glimpse of freedom, or a god so kind?

Dr. WARTON.

† He gave my oxen, as thou see'st, to stray,
And me, at ease, my favourite strains to play.

Ibid.

pressed

pressed the whole force of a line and half in
Homer,

εἰσὸν αὐτμὴν

Ἐν στήθεσσι μένη, καὶ μοι φίλα γένατ' ὀρώρη*.

Reget artus takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of φίλα γένατ' (friendly knees), which adds not to the beauty or strength of the image, and is therefore better omitted than expressed.

The rise of this reflection is from the gout, which has at present laid hold of me; should it take away the use of my φίλα γένατ', I should be nevertheless yours, because I am so while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Westminster, every where; in Greek, in Latin, in English, and (which is more) in good earnest †, I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant,

FR. ROFFEN.

* "Whilst life's warm spirit beats within my
"breast."

POPE.

Literally,

—while breath within my breast remains,

And moves my friendly knees.

† The Bishop and Prior were not always on these good terms. See what his Lordship says of him, after his death, in a letter to Pope, in the first volume of this collection, p. 79.

LET.

LETTER XXIV.

Mr. PRIOR to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD,

Rifkings, Sept. 3, 1718.

YOU have done, as you do commonly, very right in Clough's affair; or, if you had not, I forgive you all, for the kindness of your letter; and will tell you so on Saturday. The word *Francisce* was worth ten of your master's *qua vellem's*, and gave me more delight than a whole epistle from any hand else. Why do not I write more to you? Because you write too well for me or any body else. And, though I cannot rightly express it, I mean to say something, by which you would understand that I doubt whether I more admire or love you. Pray turn that thought in your own way, and then let me say I wrote it. You cannot oblige me more, except by continuing to me the honour of your friendship. I am well again, but have left London for a day or two; that, with my dear Lord Bathurst, I may get something better than the colic. Adieu, my Lord: I am ever and entirely yours,

M. PRIOR.

LET-

FROM Bp. ATTERBURY.

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LETTER XXV.

Mr. POPE to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD,

[Stanton Harcourt,] Sept. 8, 1718.

I HAVE long had a desire to write to your Lordship, though I cannot imagine to what end; since it is not any thing I can say upon paper that can give you any title to me which you have not already, or (I hope) tell you any part of my respect or esteem which you know not already. But I have got a sort of a subject for blotting this, by means of an accident which has happened here: a young man and woman were destroyed by one stroke of lightning, who were contracted in marriage some days before*. They were people of

* The melancholy fate of these lovers is thus pathetically related by Mr. Gay:

“Stanton-Harcourt, Aug. 9, 1718.

“The only news that you can expect to have
“from me here is news from heaven, for I am
“quite out of the world, and there is scarce any
“thing can reach me, except the noise of thun-
“der, which undoubtedly you have heard too.
“We have read in old authors of high towers
“levelled

of a very good character ; yet the country
here are ready to rise against their minister
for

“ levelled by it to the ground, while the humble
“ valleys have escaped : the only thing that is
“ proof against it is the laurel, which, however,
“ I take to be no great security to the brains of
“ modern authors. But to let you see that the
“ contrary to this often happens, I must acquaint
“ you, that the highest and most extravagant heap
“ of towers in the universe, which is in this neigh-
“ bourhood, stand still undefaced, while a cock
“ of barley in our next field has been consumed
“ to ashes. Would to God that this heap of
“ barley had been all that had perished ! for un-
“ happily beneath this little shelter sat two much
“ more constant lovers than ever were found in
“ romance under the shade of a beech-tree. John
“ Hewet was a well-set man of about five and
“ twenty ; Sarah Drew might be rather called
“ comely than beautiful, and was about the same
“ age. They had passed through the various la-
“ bours of the year together, with the greatest
“ satisfaction ; if she milked, it was his morning
“ and evening care to bring the cows to her hand ;
“ it was but last fair that he bought her a present
“ of green silk for her straw hat, and the posie on
“ her silver ring was of his chusing. Their love
“ was the talk of the whole neighbourhood ; for
“ scandal never affirmed, that they had any other
“ views than the lawful possession of each other
“ in marriage. It was that very morning that he
“ had obtained the consent of her parents ; and it
“ was but till the next week that they were to
“ wait to be happy. Perhaps in the intervals of
“ their

for allowing them Christian burial. They cannot get it out of their heads but so re-

markable

“ their work they were now talking of their wedding cloaths, and John was suiting several sorts
 “ of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion,
 “ to chuse her a knot for the wedding-day. While
 “ they were thus busied (it was on the last of July
 “ between two and three in the afternoon) the
 “ clouds grew black; and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers
 “ made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frightened,
 “ and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley.
 “ John, who never separated from her, sat down
 “ by her side, having raked together two or three
 “ heaps, the better to secure her from the storm.
 “ Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as
 “ if heaven had split asunder; every one was now
 “ solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and
 “ called to one another throughout the field: no
 “ answer being returned to those who called to
 “ our lovers, they stept to the place where they
 “ lay; they perceived the barley all in a smoke,
 “ and then spied this faithful pair: John with one
 “ arm about Sarah’s neck, and the other held over
 “ her, as to skreen her from the lightning. They
 “ were struck dead, and stiffened in this tender
 “ posture. Sarah’s left eye-brow was singed, and
 “ there appeared a black spot on her breast: her
 “ lover was all over black, but not the least signs
 “ of life were found in either. Attended by their
 “ melancholy companions, they were conveyed
 “ to the town, and the next day were interred in
 “ Stanton-Harcourt church-yard. My Lord Har-

markable a death was a judgement from God. It is pleasant enough to consider, that people who fancy themselves good Christians should be so absurd as to think the same misfortunes, when they befall others, a punishment of vice; and, when they happen to themselves, an exercise of virtue. I would try to do some service in procuring the following epitaph* to be

"court, at Mr. Pope's and my request, has caused
 "a stone to be placed over them, upon condition
 "that we furnished the epitaph, which is as follows:

"When Eastern lovers feed the funeral fire,
 "On the same pile the faithful pair expire:
 "Here pitying heaven that virtue mutual found,
 "And blasted both, that it might neither wound.
 "Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well-pleas'd,
 "Sent his own lightning, and the victims seiz'd.
 "But my Lord is apprehensive the country people
 "will not understand this, and Mr. Pope says he
 "will make one with something of scripture in it,
 "and with as little of poetry as Hopkins and
 "Sternhold."

* The epitaph, as placed in the parish church, was this:

"Near this place lie the bodies of
 "JOHN HEWET and MARY DREW,
 "an industrious young man
 "and virtuous maiden of this parish;
 "Who

be set over them, or something to this purpose. I send it to your Lordship for your opinion *, both as to the doctrine and the poetry ;

" Who being at harvest-work
 " (with several others)
 " were in one instant killed by lightning
 " the last day of July, 1718.
 " Think not by rigorous judgement seiz'd
 " A pair so faithful could expire ;
 " Victims so pure Heaven saw well pleas'd,
 " And snatch'd them in celestial fire.
 " Live well, and fear no sudden fate ;
 " When God calls Virtue to the grave,
 " Alike 'tis justice, soon or late ;
 " Mercy alike to kill or save !
 " Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
 " And face the flash that melts the ball !"

In the church of Stanton-Harcourt is also Pope's epitaph on the grandfather of the present earl.

* These lines, in Pope's Letter to the Bishop, are exactly the same as those printed in the preceding note.

Mr. Pope seems to have been very solicitous about this epitaph, and to have entered deeply into the distress of the young lovers. By the following letter to him from Lady Wortley Montagu, it appears, that Lady had also been consulted on the subject :

" Dover, Nov. 1, O. S. 1718.
 " I HAVE this minute received a letter of
 " yours sent me from Paris. I believe and hope I

poetry; as I am very certain, nothing is either fit for the church or the publick which is not agreeable to your sentiments.

I beg

“ shall very soon see both you and Mr. Congreve;
 “ but as I am here in an inn, where we stay to
 “ regulate our march to London, bag and baggage,
 “ gage, I shall employ some of my leisure time in
 “ answering that part of yours that seems to require
 “ an answer.

“ I must applaud your good-nature in supposing
 “ that your pastoral lovers (vulgarly called hay-
 “ makers) would have lived in everlasting joy and
 “ harmony, if the lightning had not interrupted
 “ their scheme of happiness. I see no reason
 “ to imagine, that John Hughes [Hewet] and Sarah
 “ Drew were either wiser or more virtuous than
 “ their neighbours. That a well-set man of twenty-
 “ five should have a fancy to marry a brown
 “ woman of eighteen, is nothing marvellous; and
 “ I cannot help thinking, that, had they married,
 “ their lives would have passed in the common
 “ track with their fellow-parishioners. His endeavouring
 “ to shield her from a storm was a natural action,
 “ and what he would have certainly done for his horse,
 “ if he had been in the same situation. Neither am I of
 “ opinion that their sudden death was a reward of their
 “ mutual virtue. You know the Jews were re-
 “ proved for thinking a village destroyed by fire more
 “ wicked than those that had escaped the thunder. Time
 “ and chance happen to all men. Since you
 “ desire me to try my skill in an epitaph, I think
 “ the

I beg you, my Lord, not to spare me one word that is put in for the sake of rhyme. I know the following lines perhaps more just, though not so poetical as yours.

"Here lie John Hughes * and Sarah Drew;
 "Perhaps you'll say, What's that to you?
 "Believe me, friend, much may be said
 "On that poor couple that are dead.
 "On Sunday next they should have married;
 "But see how oddly things are carried!
 "On Thursday last it rain'd and lighten'd;
 "These tender lovers, sadly frighten'd,
 "Shelter'd beneath the cocking hay,
 "In hopes to pass the time away.
 "But the bold thunder found them out
 "(Commission'd for that end, no doubt);
 "And, seizing on their trembling breath,
 "Consign'd them to the shades of death.
 "Who knows if 'twas not kindly done?
 "For, had they seen the next year's sun,
 "A beaten wife and cuckold swain
 "Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain;
 "Now they are happy in their doom,
 "For Pope has wrote upon their tomb."

"I confess these sentiments are not altogether so heroic as yours †; but I hope you will forgive them, in favour of the two last lines. You see how much I esteem the honour you have done them; though I am not very impatient to have the same, and had rather continue to be

* Hewet.

† They were certainly in every respect inferior; and turn a severe and awful subject into a ridiculous joke.

know you will be so gentle to the modern Goths and Vandals, as to allow them to put a few rhimes upon tombs, or over doors, where they have not room to write much, and may have hopes to make rhyme live by the material it is graved upon. In return, I promise your Lordship, as soon as Homer is translated, to allow it unfit for long works; but to say so at present would be what your second thoughts could never approve of; because it would be a profusion of repentance and conviction, and yet a perseverance in the sin.

I have lived where I have done nothing but sinned, that is, rhimed, these six weeks*. I dare not approach you till the fit is over. I thank God, I find the symptoms almost gone, and

"your stupid, *living*, humble servant, than be celebrated by all the pens in Europe.

"I would write to Mr. Congreve; but suppose you will read this to him, if he enquires after me."

* In one of the three rooms of the tower at Stanton Harcourt Mr. Pope finished, in the year 1718, the fifth volume of his Homer, in his two summers' retirement here, as appears by the following inscription, written with a diamond, on a piece

and may therefore soon expect to pass my time much more agreeably in London or at Bromley. I beg you to think me, what I am most proud and pleased to be thought, my Lord, your most obliged, and most faithful humble servant,

A. POPE.

LETTER XXVI.

Bp. ATTERBURY to Mr. POPE.

S I R,

Bromley, Sept. 12, 1718.

I Received here this morning a Letter from you, without any account of the place from whence it was written. I suppose you thought this a notable contrivance to escape an answer. I have ill-nature enough to take a pleasure in defeating that design, and will therefore guess, as well as I can, where you are, and venture a letter at random: but I piece of red stained glass, now in the possession of Lord Nuneham:

“ In the year 1718.

“ ALEXANDER POPE

“ Finished here the

“ Fifth Volume of Homer.”

His friend Gay spent his time at Cockthorp, another seat of Lord Harcourt's, two miles distant.

hope, through my Lord Harcourt's cover, it may possibly reach you. If it does, I have my revenge, a principle which, on this particular occasion, I am not ashamed to own.

In good earnest, Sir, I was pleased to see a letter from you; and pleased with the subject of that letter. Christianity is the best-natured institution in the world, and is so far from allowing such harsh censures, that it has directly forbidden them, and expressly decided against them. You know the passage: "Suppose ye that these Galilæans were sinners above all Galilæans, because they suffered such things? I tell you nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." What think you of letting the minister of the parish contribute this, as his share, towards an inscription on the gravestone, and as a proper rebuke to his censuring neighbours, worthy of being inscribed, not on such a monument only, but on the heart of every one that owns himself a Christian? How far this prose, and your poetry, a verse of scripture, and the stanzas you sent me, are fit to keep company with each other, I pretend not to say; but sure I am, that the words are weighty.

You

You are too good to me to think that my relish of such performances is enough to make me capable of advising you; or if I were, yet my partiality in behalf of whatever you write, would steal away my judgement. However, since you are so civil, and seem so sincere, I will try for once to divest myself of such prejudices, and will venture to tell you my mind of what you know so much better than I do. If I shew my unskillfulness, I shall yet give you a proof of my friendship, and an instance of the power you have over me. Perhaps there is nobody but you that could so easily have led me into so great a mistake. Use your influence gently, if you intend to preserve it.

I like the lines well: they are yours, and they are good; and on both these accounts are very welcome to me. You know my opinion, that poetry, without a moral, is a body without a soul. Let the lines be never so finely turned, if they do not point to some useful truth, if there is not instruction at the bottom of them, they can give no true delight to a reasonable mind. They are,

“Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ,”

and

and as such they may tinkle prettily in the ears, but will never reach the heart, or leave a durable impression behind them.

Nobody that reads what you have written will blame you in this respect; for it is all over morality from the beginning to the end of it; and it pleases me the better, because I fancy it drawn from the sources of Horace; for I cannot help thinking that his

“ Si fractus illabatur orbis,

“ Impavidum ferient ruinæ,”

was (whether you attended to it, or no) the original from which your two last verses were copied. I wish you had prepared the way for the latter of them, as he has done for the idea given us by *fractus illabatur orbis*, which is strong enough to support that which follows, *Impavidum ferient ruinæ*; whereas you melt the ball at once, without giving us any warning; and are led on the sudden from a particular account to the general conflagration; and that too is to be effected by a *flash*, a word not equal to the work on which it is employed.

Pardon this freedom. But my old master, Roscommon, has an expression which I always

ways looked upon as very happy and significant:

“He who *proportion’d* numbers can disclose;”
and without that just proportion nothing is truly admirable.

Will you forgive me, if I add, that *melting the ball*, without that preparation I mentioned, is too apt to lead us into the image of a snow-ball. Waller, I am persuaded, for the sake of the *F* and the *B* (of which he was remarkably fond) would have chosen to say,

“And face the flash that *burns* the ball.”

I am far from proposing this as an improvement. I do not think it such; or, if it were, I would not offer it, for where the images themselves are not well suited, it is in vain to alter a particular expression.

I know not whither I am going in this track of criticism, to which I have been long a stranger; but since I am in for it, *Pergine, Pierides*.

In the first stanza I must take the liberty to object against *so faithful* and *so pure*; because they are so near to one another, and yet belong to different sentences. Nor can I approve that confusion of ideas which seems to be in the two last lines. Elijah indeed

was

was snatched up in a chariot of fire; but pure victims consumed by fire from heaven cannot be said to be snatched up in it. Has the word *celestial*, in the 4th line, any force? If heaven snatches them up in fire, that fire must needs be celestial, i. e. heavenly.

Your second stanza is full of good sense, shortly expressed. But methinks there is some obscurity in it; *quo vitio minime teneri soles*, as Suetonius says of Horace. For when God calls the virtuous to the grave, though he be alike just whether he calls him soon or late, yet it should not be said he is alike merciful whether he kills or saves him; for if he saves him, the very supposition of his being called to the grave is destroyed. Nor am I perfectly satisfied with that phrase,

“When God calls virtue to the grave.”

Though if the connection of it with the 4th line were exact in point of sense, the expression itself would not shock me.

Virtue unmov'd—should you not rather say *Goodness*, than repeat the word *Virtue*, which you had used three lines before? So you had *call* also; but that repetition is graceful, the verb being changed into a substantive,

and

and becoming by that means a new word, which echoes to the former, and yet differs from it.

"aliusque et idem
"Nasceris."

says he, who says every thing better than any body else but Virgil.

"Hæc ego dictabam, sylvas saltusque peragrans

"Bromleios, urbes urbanaque gaudia vitans,

"Excepto quod non simul esses, cætera lætus.

"Hæc latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amœnæ,

"Incolumem tibi me præsent Septembribus

"horis."

You see, Sir, I have obeyed your commands, because they are yours; with a frankness which I should like in another, and therefore hope you will not dislike in me. I have ventured to object to what I could not have written, and cannot mend. I was pleased with the thoughts of writing to you, though upon a subject that did not altogether please me; for experience has taught me, that it is a wiser and better pleasure to taste the beauties of good writers, than to find out their faults; especially since it is great odds that, when we are playing the critick, we

[commit

commit more real mistakes than we pretend to find; that, I doubt not, is my case: however, *jacta est alea*.

I say nothing to you about *rhime*, because it is a subject on which I have "so much" to say. Why should you forego an advantage which you enjoy in perfection, and own that way of writing not to be the best in which you write better than any man? I am not so unreasonable as to expect it. But I know I have the testimony of your poetical conscience on my side, though you are wise enough not to own so unpopular and unprofitable a truth.

When I see you here, as you seem to promise, more of these matters. In the mean time, I am, Sir, yours, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

LET-

LETTER XXVII.

Mr. POPE to Bp. ATTERBURY *.

MY LORD,

[June, 1723.]

WHILE yet I can write to you, I must,
I will correspond with you, till the
very moment it is felony ; and when I can
no longer write to you, I will write of you †.

To

* “ In a collection of letters lately published by
“ Mr. Duncombe, it is affirmed, on the authority
“ of Elijah Fenton, that Atterbury, speaking of
“ Pope, said, there was *Mens curva in corpore curvo*.
“ This sentiment seems utterly inconsistent with
“ the warm friendship supposed to subsist between
“ these two celebrated men. But Dr. Herring, in
“ vol. II. p. 104, says, ‘ If Atterbury was not
“ worse used than any honest man in the world
“ ever was, there were strong contradictions between
“ his public and private character.” WARTON.

† I had prepared a note to be inserted in this
place, agreeably to the hint given in vol. I. p. 143 ;
of which my reader will have no cause to regret
the loss, when it is so much better supplied by the
following letter from a valuable friend, which he
has kindly permitted me to print.

“ DEAR SIR,

South Molton, Nov. 12, 1782.

“ **T**HE following Anecdote was first commu-
nicated to the public by the late Dr. Maty, on the
credit of Lord Chesterfield : “ I went (said Lord
Chesterfield) to Mr. Pope, one morning, at Twic-
kenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt
clasps, lying before him upon his table ; and, as I
knew his way of thinking upon that book, I asked
him, jocosely, if he was going to write an answer

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F 8

to

To tell you that my heart is full of your defence, is no more than the worst enemy I have

to it? It is a present, said he, or rather a legacy, from my old friend the Bishop of Rochester. I went to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where I saw this Bible upon his table. After the first compliments, the Bishop said to me, 'My friend Pope, considering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy to remember me by it. Take it home with you; and let me advise you to abide by it.'

—'Does your Lordship abide by it yourself?'—

'I do.'—'If you do, my Lord, it is but lately.

May I beg to know what new light or arguments have prevailed with you now, to entertain an opinion so contrary to that which you entertained of that book all the former part of your life?'—

The Bishop replied, 'We have not time to talk of these things; but take home the book; I will abide by it, and I recommend you to do so too, and so God bless you!'

"Dr. Warton hath revived this story, which he justly calls an *uncommon* one, in his last "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope."

It was indeed *very* uncommon; and I have my reasons for thinking it equally groundless and invidious. Dr. Warton, though he retails the story from "Maty's Memoirs," yet candidly acknowledges, that it ought not to be implicitly relied on. That this caution was not unnecessary, will, I apprehend, be sufficiently obvious, from the following comparison between the date of the story itself and Mr. Pope's Letters to the Bishop.

"According to Lord Chesterfield's account, this remarkable piece of conversation took place but a few days before the Bishop went into exile; and it is in-

have must own: You have really, without a figure, had all the triumphs that ancient
 insinuated that Mr. Pope, *till that* period, had not even entertained the slightest suspicion of his Friend's reverence for the Bible: Nay, it is asserted, that the very recommendation of it from a quarter so unexpected staggered Mr. Pope to such a degree, that, in a mingled vein of raillery and seriousness, he was very eager to know the grounds and reasons of the Bishop's change of sentiment.

"Unfortunately for the credit of Lord Chesterfield and his story, there is a letter on record, that was written *nine months* before this pretended dialogue took place, in which Mr. Pope seriously acknowledged the Bishop's piety and generosity, in interesting himself so zealously and affectionately in matters which immediately related to his improvement in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The passage I refer to is a very remarkable one; and you will find it in a Letter, dated July 27, 1722 *. It appears undeniably from this Letter, that the Bishop had earnestly recommended to Mr. Pope the study of the Bible; and had softened his zeal with an unusual urbanity and courtesy, in order to avoid the imputation of ill-breeding, and remove all occasion of disgust from a mind so "*tremblingly alive*" as Mr. Pope's. I will transcribe the passage at large. "I ought first to prepare my mind for a better knowledge *even* of good "*profane* writers, especially the *moralists*, &c. before I can be worthy of tasting *that* SUPREME of "*Books*, and SUBLIME of *all writings*, in which, as in all the intermediate ones, you may (if your Friendship and Charity towards me continue so far) *be the best* GUIDE to, Yours, A. POPE."

* Printed in the First Volume of this Collection, p. 112.

eloquence boasts of. Their consciences and passions have done you right, though their votes have not. You have met with the fate frequent to great and good men, to gain applause, where you are denied justice*. Let me take the only occasion I have had

"The last letter of Mr. Pope to the Bishop, previous to his going into exile, was written (as you observe) very early in June, 1723. It must have been about this time that Pope paid his farewell visit to the Bishop in the Tower. But whether *such* a conversation as that which hath been pretended actually took place, may be left to the determination of every man of common sense, after comparing Lord Chesterfield's anecdote with Mr. Pope's letter.

"There must have been a mistake, or a wilful misrepresentation, *somewhere*. To determine its *origin*, or to mark minutely the various degrees of its progress, till it issued forth into calumny and falsehood, is impossible. I have simply stated matters of fact as they are recorded; and leave it to your readers to settle other points, not quite so obvious and indisputable, as they may think fit. My motives in this very plain relation arose from an honest wish to remove *unmerited* obloquy from the DEAD. I should sincerely rejoice if the cloud which in other respects *still* shades the character of this ingenious Prelate could be removed with equal facility and success. I am, dear Sir, your faithful, humble servant,
 SAMUEL BADCOCK.
 "To Mr. J. Nichols."

* Bp. Newton was "captain of Westminster-school, when their chief governor, the Dean
 "in

had in the whole series of your misfortunes
to congratulate you, and not you only, but posterity,

“ in August 1722, not many days after performing the last office at the magnificent funeral of the great Duke of Marlborough, was taken into custody, and carried before a committee of the privy council; where being under examination, he made use of these words of our Saviour, ‘ If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go;’ and he was committed a prisoner to the Tower for treasonable practices. ‘ There is too much reason to fear that the Bishop had been dabbling in this kind of politics; but a full and clear detection of the conspiracy was never obtained. The ministry had got some scent of his intrigues, but could not follow him through all his turnings and windings, nor, with all their sagacity, could trace him directly to his cover. They had little better evidence than hear-says, conjectures, and innuendoes; and could procure no sufficient legal proof to convict him by trial at law. Recourse was had therefore to a bill of pains and penalties, to deprive him of all his preferments, and to banish him the kingdom; which, after long debate, was carried by a considerable majority in both houses. In this debate the Duke of Wharton exerted himself greatly, summed up the evidence in a masterly manner, and made one of the best and ablest speeches against the bill ever delivered, which he caused to be printed, and entered a larger and more particular protest, dissentient for the same reasons as other Lords, and for other reasons

terity, upon this noble defence. I already
see in what lustre *that* innocence is to appear
to

“ additional. Hereby he verified in some mea-
“ sure what his father, the old Marquis, had, in
“ his anger, predicted of him, that he would al-
“ ways take wrong causes, would learn his poli-
“ tics of Atterbury, and be ruined. His brethren
“ the Bishops were almost all unanimous against
“ him. The only one who spoke in his behalf,
“ and protested, was Gastrell Bishop of Chester,
“ who yet had been at variance with him. Willis
“ Bishop of Salisbury made a long and laboured
“ speech on the other side, which he published
“ soon after, and was rewarded by the bishoprick
“ of Winchester, as Bishop Hoadly was by suc-
“ ceeding to Salisbury. Lord Bathurst, wonder-
“ ing at this unanimity, said, that he could not
“ possibly account for it, unless some persons
“ were possessed with the nature of the wild In-
“ dians, that when they had killed a man, they
“ were not only entitled to his spoils, but inherited
“ likewise his abilities. Bishop Hoadly was no
“ speaker in that house, but he took another
“ course. He had all along pursued Atterbury
“ with unrelenting animosity, had first attacked
“ his sermon at the funeral of Mr. Bennet, then
“ his sermon upon charity, afterwards set forth
“ an answer in English to his Latin sermon before
“ the Clergy, and still continued the pursuit, and
“ stuck in his skirts to the last, by writing in a
“ Weekly Journal a refutation of his speech, and
“ a vindication of the judgement passed upon him,
“ so that a gentleman of wit and learning, allud-
“ ing to Bishop Hoadly's lameness, applied that
“ saying in Horace,

“ *Rara*

to other ages, which this has overborne and
oppressed. I know perfectly well what a
share

"Raro antecedentem scelestum

"Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

"Some have suspected that there was more truth
"than there should have been in that confession
"of the villain Neynoe, that he knew nothing
"of the plot; but he knew of two other plots,
"one of his own to get money from Mr. Walpole,
"and the other of Mr. Walpole against the pro-
"testing Lords, and particularly against the Bishop
"of Rochester, the chief of them, to pull down
"the pride of that haughty Prelate. But though
"it did not appear that the Bishop had any con-
"cern and connexion with Layer and Layer's plot,
"yet there was a greater intimacy between him
"and Kelly than either of them would acknow-
"lege; for the young gentleman, who lived at
"that time in the bishop's house as his son's tutor
"and companion, has often said that Kelly used
"to come to him frequently, commonly once in
"a week, on a Thursday evening, and to stay shut
"up with him alone from seven o'clock till nine.
"The Earl of Sunderland too, who was strongly
"suspected to have been of the same way of
"thinking, but died before the discovery, though
"he had no manner of acquaintance with the
"Bishop, or rather was at enmity with him in
"former times, yet in his latter days made him
"long and frequent visits, as even the King's
"scholars observed, who walking and playing
"much in Dean's yard, had yet curiosity enough
"to remark who and what passed. Some of his
"negotiations also with the Pretender's agents,
"after

share of credit it will be to have appeared on your side, or being called your *friend*. I am far prouder of that word you publicly spake of me, than of any thing I have even yet heard of myself during my whole life. Thanks be to God, that I, a private man, concerned in no judicature, and employed in no public cause, have had the honour, in this great and shining incident, which will make the first figure in the history of this time, to enter, as it were, my protest for your innocency, and my declaration of your friendship *. Be assured,

“ after his going abroad, have been published in
 “ the year 1768, with a fac-simile, or exemplifi-
 “ cation of his hand-writing; which whoever
 “ knew, he cannot well entertain any doubt of
 “ their authenticity.” Bp. NEWTON.—These let-
 ters are preserved in vol. I. with another fac-simile
 of his hand-writing, which amply confirms the
 former.

* “ At his trial he had produced Mr. Pope as an
 “ evidence in his favour, to speak to his manner
 “ of life and conversation: and when he took his
 “ last leave of him, he told him, he would allow
 “ him to say his sentence was just, if he ever
 “ found he had any concern with the Pretender’s
 “ family in his exile. But notwithstanding this,
 “ as Bishop Warburton informs us, Mr. Pope
 “ was convinced, before the Bishop’s death, that
 “ during his banishment he was in the intrigues
 “ of the Pretender. It was most excellent advice
 “ which

fured, my dear Lord, no time shall ever efface that from my heart, should I be denied the

“ which Mr. Pope gave him in some of his part-
“ ing letters, that he should not envy the world,
“ his studies; that, it might be, Providence had
“ appointed him to some great and useful work,
“ and called him to it this severe way; that now
“ he was cut off from a little society, and made a
“ citizen of the world at large, he should bend
“ his talents not to serve a party, or a few, but all
“ mankind; that he should think of Tully, Bacon,
“ and Clarendon; that he should remember the
“ greatest lights of antiquity dazzled and blazed
“ most in their retreat, in their exile, or in their
“ death; that he should despise all little views,
“ all mean retrospects, and should (as he could)
“ make the world look after him, not with pity,
“ but with esteem and admiration. And it is
“ much to be lamented, that this advice was no
“ better followed, that such talents and faculties
“ were no better employed, and that he was still
“ dealing in politics, instead of writing some
“ work of genius and learning, of which he was
“ very capable. He wrote only two or three little
“ pieces, his Essay on the character of Iâpis in
“ Virgil; his Vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr.
“ Smalridge, and himself, from the charge of in-
“ terpolating Lord Clarendon's History; and little
“ or nothing besides, but a few criticisms on some
“ French authors. For though he would never
“ venture to talk or converse in French, yet as
“ Mons. Rollin and Thiriot, to whom Voltaire
“ addressed his Letters on the English nation, have
“ assured us, he was as able a critic in the lan-

the power of expressing it ever more with my pen in this manner; but could that permission be obtained, which you had once the extreme goodness to think of asking even from those from whom you would ask nothing, I believe, but what lies very near your heart; and could the permission of corresponding with you be obtained; I do assure you, I would tear off all other writings, and apply it wholly to you (where it would please me best) and to the amusement and (if I could be so happy as to say) comfort of your exile, till God and your innocency

“guage as any Frenchman. After the Westminster election* in 1723 was over, some of the King’s Scholars thought it a proper piece of respect to wait on their late Dean in the Tower, as every body had then free admittance, to see and take leave of him: and, among other things which he said to them, he applied to himself those lines of Milton, as he did likewise in a letter to Mr. Pope:

“The world is all before me, where to choose
“My place of rest, and Providence my guide.”

Bp. NEWTON.

* “There was something august and awful too in the Westminster-elections; to see three such great men presiding, Bishop Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, Bishop Smalridge as Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley as Master of Trinity-college: and ‘as iron sharpens iron,’ so these three, by their wit and learning, and liberal conversation, whetted and sharpened one another.” Bp. NEWTON.

(which will support you in it) restore you from it; than which there is not a sincerer or warmer prayer, my Lord, than in the breast of your ever obliged and affectionate friend,

A. POPE.

Some Alterations of Buchanan's famous EPIGRAM, proposed by Dr. ATTERBURY, and sent by that Prelate in a Letter written the very day before he died, to the late Lord Marshal *.

Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptræ tueris avos :
Quæ famam antevenis, meritis; virtutibus, annos;
Sexum, animis; morum nobilitate, genus :

Accipe

* " Among the several disputes between the
" Scotch and English, of the excellence of each
" respective nation, I wonder the celebrated Epi-
" gram of Buchanan, in which he dedicates his
" Psalms to Mary Queen of Scots, has not been
" produced; for I hardly ever met with a Scotch
" man who was not ready to extol it, and yet have
" rarely met with one that understood it. I may
" presume, then, to say it is deficient in point of
" clearness; and it has been proved not less so in
" point of elegance. The question is, what is the
" sense of the last couplet but one. The editor of
" this, among the *Delectus Epigrammatum* for
" the use of Eton-school, interprets *exponere*,
" *Non ausus essem in publicum edere factum non fa-*
" *ventibus*

Accipe (sed facilis) * cultu donata Latino

Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.

Illa quidem, Cyrrhâ procul et Permeffide lymphâ,

Pene sub Arctoï fidere nata poli.

Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere
foetum,

Ne mihi displiceant, quæ placuere tibi :

Sed quod ab authoris genio sperare nequibant ;

Debebunt genio forsitàn illa tuo.

“ *ventibus Musis*. But the sense is undoubtedly the
“ very contrary. It is certain he *published* the
“ book when he wrote that Dedication to it.
“ *Exponere* is the same as *non-tollere*, and alludes
“ to the custom among the ancients of *exposing* those
“ children to chance and fate whom they did not
“ design to *bring up*. I would not, says the poet,
“ expose to destruction those poems which you
“ were pleased to approve of. So much for the
“ sense of the epigram : and when we have got it,
“ I own, it is not worth searching for, except that
“ it has given an opportunity to the ingenious pen
“ of Bp. Atterbury, to throw new light and beauty
“ over the whole, and to make the poverty of the
“ northern soil (which the poet and the reader too
“ sensibly feel) subservient to the most delicate
“ compliment to the beauty of his royal patroness.
“ Instead, therefore, of the four last lines, substi-
“ tute those of the Bishop :

“ At si culta parum, si sint incendita, nostri.

“ Scilicet ingenii est, non ea culpa soli :

“ Posse etiam hic nasci quæ sunt pulcherrima,

“ spondet

“ E vultu et genio Scotica terra tuo.”

These remarks are by the late Mr. BOWYER.

* Read, “ cytharæ sociata Latinæ.” ATTERBURY.

RE-

REFLECTIONS on a late scandalous Report
about the Repeal of the TEST ACT*.

THE peculiar character of the men of this age is, that they readily believe every thing but truth ; and, as great Infidels as they are in matters of Religion, yet in politics, whatever idle report is stirring, they give into it with an amazing degree of credulity. How else could it happen that so many should in good earnest be alarmed with the late rumor we have had of a design to *repeal the Test* ; a fiction every way ridiculous and childish, fit only to frighten such as believe in *Fairies* ! There are those indeed who know how to make their advantages of a state-lye, if they can pass it upon the world for an hour : but it was impudence in the forger of this to imagine that it could last a moment. For, set this odd project in what light, and view it on what side you please, the absurdities of it are so evident and glaring, that one would think the weakest eye could not miss discovering them.

Every one knows the original of the Test Act ; how just the fears were that occasioned

* I believe this has never been published. It is now printed from the Bishop's own hand-writing.
it,

it, and how well it was calculated every way to remove them. The dangers which then threatened our constitution were of two sorts: and the wisdom of the legislature took care equally to guard against both of them. That part of this act, which makes the renouncing the Corporal Prefence in the Eucharist a necessary qualification for an office, would have excluded the Papists as effectually as any additional test whatsoever: and therefore the other part of it, which enjoins receiving the sacrament, must have been aimed chiefly at the Dissenters. And if, in that respect, it were then thought necessary, with what face can any one pretend that it is unnecessary now? We did not look upon ourselves as secure, without a sacramental test, even at a time when a toleration was not as yet granted by law; and he must have an extraordinary turn of head, who, at this time of day, can imagine that there is less reason for continuing, than there was at first for imposing, it. Since the birth of the Test, have we, by any new fences, been sheltered against the attacks of Dissenters? or are they grown less formidable by the favours of more than one reign, and twenty years legal indulgence?

Have

Have they lost their old relish of power, by the late allowances they have had to taste of it? Or have they given us any reason to think, they would use it better than their moderate predecessors did in the times of anarchy and confusion; when they were not content to exclude church-of-England-men from civil offices, but made it penal for them even to teach a child, or say grace in a private family? We have an instructive instance, in a neighbouring nation, how the spirit of fanaticism works when dominant; and they who will not be convinced by it, neither would they be persuaded, though Bradshaw and Ireton, Venners and Marshal, should rise from the dead, and once again exercise their dominion over us.

The Church of England hath ever justly been esteemed the great bulwark of the Reformation; and, I am sure, the Test Act may as justly be reckoned the chief bulwark of the Church; for, by the means of it, that power which alone can protect or destroy her has been kept in the hands of her friends, or of those at least who desired to be thought such, and could not therefore openly do any thing disagreeable to that character. But,
whenever,

whenever those who are not of her communion are let into a share of this power, it is as easy to foretell, as it will be impossible to prevent, the sad consequences of it. We must be allowed at that juncture to say (what every one will see) that she is *in extreme danger*; and that no state-physician, be his skill ever so great, or his intentions ever so good, will then be able to save her. She has perhaps the least influence of any Church upon earth, by virtue of that discipline and authority which ~~she~~ is permitted to exercise; and no method hath been left unattempted to make her loose the hold she had in the affections and reverence of the people. That which supports her under these disadvantages is, the *incapacity* that lies on her enemies as to *places and power*. Let this incapacity be ever removed, she is from that moment at mercy, and can subsist only (as the Primitive Church was planted) by miracle.

It being evident, that these are the consequences of repealing the Test Act, and as evident that it can be repealed only by those who profess themselves of the Church of England, one would wonder, how it was possible to raise a jealousy, that, in our present

sent circumstances, it would ever be attempted. For who is there likely to make or abet such a proposal in public? The Scotch members are pointed at as the men who are to introduce it under the notion of *improving the Union*. As if the proper way of improving the Union were, to take the first opportunity of breaking in upon the terms of it! one of which is, that (not only the “Statute of Uniformity,” and the 13th of Eliz. which are expressly mentioned, but) “all and singular acts of parliament, now in force for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England, shall remain, and be in full force for ever.” And if the Test and Corporation Acts (which must stand and fall together) be not in the number of these, I despair of finding any such in the statute-book. Sure we are, the great influence of these acts was so well understood in a late reign, that her enemies, how widely soever differing in other opinions, yet agreed in this, that a repeal of them would be the surest and readiest way towards her ruin. The church itself thought so too; and therefore struggled for them as for life, and even ventured a Revolution to secure them.

The

The Scotch members are sensible that several Laws *anent the security of their Kirk* are perpetuated by like general words in the Act of Union; and will be wary therefore, how they weaken our security which stands upon the same bottom with theirs, lest the precedent, set here, should be followed elsewhere, and a way opened by the means of it to subvert their present ecclesiastical constitution. Besides, such a proposal for setting Dissenters upon an equal foot of privilege with the members of the established Church, would come with a very ill grace from them, that deny even to *tolerate* those of the episcopal persuasion amongst them. An authentic evidence of their principles in this point is, the Representation, which the Commission of their General Assembly made to the Scotch Parliament, a little before the Union, wherein they “are bold in the LORD, and in the
 “name of the Church of GOD in their land,
 “earnestly to attest his Grace [the High
 “Commissioner] and the most honourable
 “estates, that no motion of any legal toleration to those of prelatical principles may
 “be entertained by the parliament, being
 “persuaded that in the present case and
 “cir-

" circumstances of that church and nation,
 " to enact a toleration for those of that way
 " (which God of his infinite mercy avert!)
 " would be to establish iniquity by a law,
 " and would bring upon the promoters there-
 " of, and upon their families, the dreadful
 " guilt of all those sins, and pernicious ef-
 " fects, both in Church and State, that
 " might ensue thereupon." Thus they then
 protested; and, to do them right, however
 they may have been misrepresented, their
 practice ever since hath been exactly confor-
 mable to their opinion.

Well then, no proper advocate for this
 Repeal is to be found among the Scotch mem-
 bers of parliament, and much less surely
 among the English, who are all sons of that
 Church which would be struck at by such an
 attempt, and can no more be out-witted, than
 out-voted, in a case where their interest is so
 evidently concerned. Many of them are of
 tried virtue, and did, with a memorable firm-
 ness, oppose this design, even when the
 Crown, with all its weight, came in to pro-
 mote it. And there are none of them but
 will acknowledge that our present safety
 and happiness are owing to the honourable

stand which was then made. We need not doubt, therefore, but that, if occasion were given them, they would be as ready to imitate that conduct as they are to applaud it.

The House of Commons have already expressed their opinion, that the Test Act is a fundamental part of the Union, by declaring upon their Journal, that "it is effectually and essentially provided for" by the Act of Security; and the Lords were of the same mind, when they gave the same reason in their debates, why an express mention of it was needless.

It is impossible to conceive that the Bishops should not unanimously withstand such a project; and we may be sure, they have interest enough to prevent the bringing in any bill, which touches the Church so nearly, against their concurring opinion. Indeed, if Parker and Cartwright* were alive, they would be fit tools to work with on this occasion: but I know of no one English prelate now upon the bench that can come within the reach of such a suspicion. My Lord of Sarum†

* Parker bishop of Oxford and Cartwright bishop of Chester, both preferred in 1686 by King James II. See their characters in Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. II. p. 398. 8vo. edit.

† Bishop Burnet.

has distinguished himself by his zeal for preserving the Test Act, and given such strong reasons for it from The Hague as can never be answered here in England; and we may be satisfied, from his character, that his Lordship will always be found consistent with himself, and persevere to the death in that opinion. Besides, such an infringement of the Union here would, as I have shewed, be attended with some danger to the constitution and discipline of the Scotch Kirk, for which his Lordship must be allowed, on the account both of his birth and comprehensive charity, to have a particular tenderness.

From what party, or set of men amongst us, can such a proposal as this probably come? The body of those we call *Whigs* have imbibed Revolution principles so deeply, and remember them so well, as not to be willingly dipped in a design of doing that very thing which the Revolution was intended to prevent. They cannot forget that one chief motive of the Prince's coming over, expressed in his declaration from The Hague, was, to quash that "wicked design". (I speak his Highness's words) "of repealing the "Test." The attempt will not be thought less wicked, or more seasonable now, if we

consider either our domestic or foreign circumstances. Nor can that party be so sure of their present power and numbers, as to be willing to hazard all their credit and interest upon so dangerous an experiment.

The Pretender's friends (who are also for Revolution principles in their way) cannot hope to advance his interest by laying so open and barefaced a scheme for the introduction of Popery; which, if ever it takes place here, must come in upon us by stealth, and not by act of parliament. Nor will the continuance of that part of the act which affects the Papists remove this objection: for the taking away one branch of our security evidently weakens the whole; and the repealing acts by peicemeal is a trick so often tried that every body is aware of it. Besides, this sort of men is too inconsiderable for numbers and interest, to enter on such a project, unless joined by others of greater power and popularity. And, were it possible to conceive that there should be any understanding between the Pretender and some of his pretended enemies, yet, we may be sure, they would be very shy of owning it, or of doing any thing that might open the secret of such a correspondence.

The

The favourers of Dissenters never espoused them on any other foot than that of an allowance to worship God in their own way; which they now amply enjoy, and are under no apprehensions of losing. To plead for any thing farther in their behalf would be to take off the mask, and to discover to us, that though *Liberty of Conscience* was their pretence, yet their true meaning was, *Power and Places*.

They who stood up for Occasional Conformity argued for it upon this principle, that it would, by degrees, win men over to the Church, and extinguish the schism. And, to say truth, it has had some success that way; and will have more, if we let it continue. But if the Test be taken off, there is an end of Occasional Conformity, and of all its boasted advantages. Separatists will no longer make approaches to the Church, when, by serving God in their own way, they do not find that they are a jot less capable of serving themselves. And therefore, since Occasional Conformity has so necessary a connexion with the Test, they who are professed friends to the one, cannot possibly be enemies to the other.

Dutch counsels have sometimes had their influence on our affairs, and we have been warmly pressed to adjust things here at home to the model of Holland. But there is no room for such advice at present : for *our* case is already much the same with *theirs*. They too have their Tests, by which the government of the state is secured in the hands of those who are of the established religion ; nor do they think that the tolerated sects have a right to be admitted into so much power as will enable them to subvert the constitution. When the Dutch give up their Tests, I dare engage, we shall be ready to part with ours : but, till this is done, no argument drawn from the practice of that wise people can prove any thing, but that we are fools if we surrender.

There is but one sort of men more that can be thought capable of interesting themselves in this affair ; persons of sincere piety, who are offended at the frequent prophana-tions of the sacrament, occasioned by this act. But such will consider, that the discipline of the universal Church lies open to the very same objection ; since set-times, every year, are, we know, prescribed by the
Canons,

Canons, when all adult Christians are to receive the sacrament, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures. And though many, by this means, have been induced to receive unworthily, yet the Church never thought itself answerable for their ill conduct, or obliged to withdraw her injunctions for the avoiding of scandal. Good men will see the force of this reasoning, and forbear to take offence. But their number is not great; the opposers of the Test-Act have generally nothing less at heart than to prevent such prophanations. I am sure, the way to prevent them is not what some have proposed, to make it a sufficient qualification for an office if the sacrament be received in any place of religious worship: for this proposal would only extend those prophanations to conventicles as well as churches, and by that means rather propagate than diminish the scandal.

The result of these inquiries is, that, since wherever we cast our eyes, within the Church or without it, at home or abroad, no undertaker can be found likely to engage in such a work, there is no ground to

suspect it was ever intended: malice might raise the report, and folly might spread it; but it is too gross to impose upon any but those who are weak enough to be alarmed with the news of a *second invasion* *.

* This refers to an invasion projected about 1708.

Bishop

[105]

EXTRACT from a Speech of Lord LANSDOWNE,
against the Occasional Conformity Bill.

Dec. 19, 1778.

“ IF any man can say as much for the Dissenters,
“ let him speak. The reverend Prelates, who
“ have exerted in this debate, having been pre-
“ pared to fulminate against the Test, without be-
“ ing admitted into the secret of withdrawing the
“ question, have unfortunately employed their
“ quivers in the air.
“ One indeed there is *, who must not be for-
“ got, who, wandering beyond the rest in a long
“ historical collection from pamphlets and libels,
“ has let himself loose against the sacred memory
“ of the Royal Martyr. He has accused him, if
“ not of all Popery, of half Popery, very near
“ Popery, almost all Popery. Why would he not
“ speak out? For what means this school distinc-
“ tion betwixt almost all a Papist, and quite?
“ Hard fate of the best of men and of kings! He
“ who renounced the purple to preserve the lawn,
“ who died for the Church, and who is com-
“ memorated as a Martyr for the Church, is yet
“ exposed, within an age after his descent from

* Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of Lincoln.

*106 EXTRACT FROM LORD LANSDOWNE.

“the scaffold to the grave, to be murdered over
“again in flame, even in the supreme court of
“judicature, by one in that venerable order, in
“that very episcopacy, for which he sacrificed his
“liberty, his life, his crown.

“The execrable wretch who severed his head
“from his body, performed the inhuman office
“in a mask; but this holy executioner, who cuts
“what the axe could not hurt, what the Regicides
“could not take from him, his good name, has
“not been ashamed to attempt it bare-faced.

“It greives me that this animadversion should
“fall to my lot, to the lot of any private
“Lord; I was in hopes a general indignation
“would have warmed this Noble Assembly to
“have made it their own act to reprehend such
“irreverend slanders, as would have much better
“become a descendant from Bradshaw than a
“successor of Laud. But I ask pardon; this un-

“lucky reflection may have transported me too
“far. In a word, that I may not appear pre-
“judiced to merit in any man, I will conclude
“with this motion, That a list be laid before us
“of such Dissenters by name, as have in any
“kind merited from the publick, and I will
“most readily come into any measures that may
“distinguish them and their particular service,
“God forbid but that they should have their
“deserts!”

Bishop

Bishop ATTERBURY's SPEECH

IN THE

HOUSE OF LORDS,

March 22, 1723.

Now first collated with an authentic MS.
in the possession of Dr. MORICE *.

MY LORDS,

I HAVE been under a very long and close confinement, in which I have been treated by the person in whose *immediate* custody I was with such severity, and so great indignity, as, I believe, no prisoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, function, and rank, ever underwent; by which means, what little strength and use of my limbs I had, when committed in August last, is now so far impaired, that I am very unfit to appear

* The reader needs scarcely compare more than a single paragraph to be convinced of the mutilated state in which this speech has hitherto been presented to the publick. Some whole sentences were totally omitted, and the sense of many others quite perverted,

before

before your Lordships on any occasion; especially when I am to make my defence against a bill of so extraordinary a nature and tendency.

I mention this, at the entrance of what I have to say, not so much in the way of *complaint*, as *excuse*; hoping that, if I should fail in any part of my own justification, your Lordships will impute such defect to the true cause; not my want of *innocence* or *arguments* to support it (my Counsel *, I thank them, have amply shewed, that I want neither), but to the great weakness of body and mind, under which I at present labour. Such usage, such hardships of every kind, such insults as I have undergone, might have broken a more resolute spirit, and a much firmer constitution than has fallen to my share.

Your Lordships were pleased to *permit* me to appear before the Commons, by my *coun-*

* The Counsel for the Bishop were, Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. (afterwards Serjeant) Wynne. The latter of these gentlemen, conceiving himself reflected on many years after for his conduct in this business, by a writer to whose opinions every deference is due, thought proper to vindicate himself in some "Observations," which shall be printed immediately after the Bishop's Speech.

fel,

fel, or in *person* if I *thought fit*. Lest *that* should be turned to my disadvantage, as in fact the Counsel* for the bill have turned it, as if I declined any occasion of justifying myself, I crave leave to acquaint your Lordships with some of the reasons why I did *not think fit* to make use of the liberty you gave me; especially since it seems to me to have been given with a tacit insinuation, that, if I should *not think fit* to make use of it, your Lordships would be no ways displeased.

March 11. It was by the House of Commons thus *Resolved*,

“ That it *appears* to this House, That

“ Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was

“ *principally* concerned in *forming*, *di-*

“ *recting*, and *carrying on*, a wicked and

“ detestable conspiracy, for invading these

“ kingdoms with a foreign force, and

“ for raising insurrections and a rebellion

“ at home, in order to subvert our pre-

“ sent happy establishment in church

“ and state, by placing a popish pre-

“ tender on the throne.”

* Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg.

Upon

Upon duly weighing which *resolution*, and the copy of the *bill* afterwards sent me, I found not that there was any thing *charged* against me in that bill, but what was fully *contained*, and had been previously *resolved*, in this vote. And any plea therefore on my behalf, which should have been offered to that House, must have been in vain, as carrying an express contradiction to a solemn determination already made by them. What they sent me was really the *preamble of the bill* only : the enacting part, relating to *pains* and *penalties*, was to follow : but not being then part of the bill, my counsel had no *room* to say any thing on that head. They have since been added in the bill, and sent up to your Lordships (in like manner as the *Resolution* of March 11, passed) without *bearing* the person accused, without *oath* made, or any *criminal* accusation brought against him by any *living* witness whatsoever. And yet the person thus sentenced *below* to be deprived of all his preferments, to suffer *perpetual* exile, to be rendered *incapable* of any *office* or *employment*, or even of any *pardon* from the *crown*, and with whom no man must hereafter converse, or correspond by
letter,

letter, message, or otherwise, without being guilty of felony, is a Bishop of this Church, and a Lord of Parliament ; the very first instance of a member of this house, so treated, so prejudged, so condemned, originally in another, and may it be the last ! though such precedents, once set, seldom stand single ; but are apt, even without a blessing, to be fruitful and multiply in after-times ! a reflection that deserves seriously to be considered by those who, observing that this case has never before in all its circumstances happened, may too easily conclude that it will never happen again !

The *whole bill* is now before your Lordships ; not the *preamble* or *recital* only, but the *enacting part* also. I am at liberty not only to clear myself from the *charge* brought, but humbly to object also against the *punishment* designed ; you have not precluded your judgement by any *previous resolution* concerning my guilt ; you are capable of examining into the *truth* of matters upon *oath*, and with all the solemn *forms* of a *legal judicature* : and therefore I have *hopes* that what is offered *here* in my behalf, *may* have its due weight, and

110 BP. ATTERBURY'S SPEECH

do, on that account, appear the more cheerfully before you.

My *counsel* have done *their* part, in arguing the points of *law*, in explaining and enforcing the evidences on *my* side, and invalidating the little colours, appearances, and shadows of proof (permit me to *call* them what I have *prov'd* them) that have been produced on the *other*, and in setting out the *consequences* with which a bill founded on such a *bottom*, carried on in such a *manner*, and enacting such severe *penalties*, must and will be attended.

It may become *me* also to say somewhat for *myself*; lest my *silence* should be interpreted into a consciousness of guilt, or at least an unwillingness to enter into matters of so dark and perplexed, or so nice and tender a nature, that I either was not able, or did not *care*, to explain myself upon them, and chose therefore to leave *all* to the management of others.

I thank God, I am under no such *restraints*, and can speak to your Lordships on this subject with *great* freedom and plainness.

But, before I proceed, I beg leave to represent to your Lordships some particular hardships

hardships under which I have laboured. First, the reading extracts of anonymous letters, without suffering any other parts of the same letters, though relating to the same subject, to be read. Next, excusing the decypherer from answering questions, lest he should reveal the rules of his art. The not suffering me to ask the clerks of the post-office questions necessary to my defence, lest the secrets of the office should be discovered. The not suffering a person who has been near ten years out of the secretary's office to answer any questions relating to the Government (however necessary for my defence) which came to his knowledge by reason of his having been in that office. The reading examinations neither dated, signed, nor sworn to. The reading letters, supposed to be criminal, written in another man's hand, and supposed to be dictated by me, without offering any proof, though called upon, that I either dictated them, or was privy to them. The not allowing me copies of the decyphered letters (though petitioned for) till the trial was so far advanced that I had not sufficient time to consider them. Not allowing me to read out of the collection of papers before the

House

House any part of them, in order to discharge myself, but what had been read to charge me.

And all this in a proceeding where the counsel for the bill professed they had no *legal* evidence, nor were to be confined to the rules of any court of law or equity, though, when it was for their service, they constantly sheltered themselves under them.

My Lords, these are the hardships which I previously mention, and humbly lay before your Lordships.

The general charge of the bill is, That I *have been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on, a wicked and detestable conspiracy, and a principal actor therein.*

And this general charge is divided into two heads.

1. That I *traiterously consulted and corresponded with divers persons to raise an insurrection against his Majesty within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the same, in order to depose his Majesty, and place the Pretender on his throne.* And,

2. That I *traiterously corresponded with the said Pretender, and persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed.*

But

But has either part of this charge been made good by the counsel for the bill? Have they *proved* me guilty of any one *consultation* with any *one* person whatsoever, for the purposes alledged? Is there any thing in the *Reports*, or *Appendixes*, that tends towards such a proof, except the idle story of the *Burford Club*, too much *exploded* already to be worth *confuting*, and two or three loose passages in *Neynoe's* and *Pancier's* hear-say informations, where I am mentioned (by the one or the other) together with the Lords *Orrery*, *North*, *Strafford*, *Kinoul*, and Sir *H. Goring*, as concerned in the management of this affair? *Neynoe's* pretended intelligence is from *Kelly*; *Pancier's* from *Skeen*: both *Kelly* and *Skeen* have, at your bar, denied that they ever said any such thing.

I have met all these Lords, I own, at different times: but, upon the best recollection I can make, I never, in all my life, was with any *three* of them at *once*, unless perhaps at some general meeting about affairs then depending in parliament.

The Earl of *Strafford* has visited me now and then, and I him, when I had health; and I have dined with him *once* at his house,

and *but once* that I remember. At my Lord North's table I have not eat so much as once; and though I have a great honour for that noble Lord, yet I never had any intimacy with him; especially since the affair of the *Dormitory* *, wherein he appeared against me with so much zeal and earnestness, that I had certainly lost the cause if his affairs had not called him into Holland while it was depending. *Lawson* indeed has sworn, from *Farnden* [who denies it], that this Lord often visited me at *Bromley*: but in truth he never was there above *thrice* in all his life; and if he had been there oftener, a good account might have been given of such an intercourse; for he is a *tenant* of the bishoprick.

With my Lord *Kinoul*, I verily believe, I have not been *once* these *two years*: nor met my Lord *Orrery* with company upon any business whatever but that of parliament during the same time; and once, I think, we dined together at the house of a great person, whose name if I should mention, your Lordships would not think any harm done, or intended, at such a meeting. I am thus

* See vol. I. p. 74.

particular as to my Lord Orrery, because he is said to have been the *Chairman* of that club, of which I was so ill a *member* as not to know, no not even at this day, of *whom* it consisted, or *where* it was held. But when the *chairman* was *bailed*, this groundless and senseless piece of scandal vanished.

I scarce ever visited Sir *Henry Goring* in my life. He has seen me indeed several times at the Deanry, but not once at *Bromley*: and the occasion of such visits was, his placing four of his sons at Westminster-school, where (I think) they still are, and his intentions to breed some of them up for the college. But Mr. Caryl's information (upon hear-say, as all the rest against me are) about a rupture between us, is so far from being true, that the last time Sir Harry saw me (above a twelve-month ago), I promised him to bring one of his sons in upon the foundation; and wish I may be able to be as good as my word.

Your Lordships will excuse the *particularity* of my accounts, when you consider how dangerous a thing it is for any man to be thought too well acquainted with me, and how fit it is therefore that I should clear the persons

charged from so mischievous an imputation : especially since with these, and these only, I am reported, or insinuated, to have held *consultations* to forward the conspiracy ; the first grand article of the general charge : and indeed a conspiracy *without* consultations is not very intelligible. How that article has been made good, your Lordships will judge ; not one *overt-act*, or *circumstance* of time and place, being *alleged*, much less *proved*.

I proceed now to enquire, whether there be any better evidence for my *conspiring* and *corresponding* than there is for my *consulting*.

And here, my Lords, the *only* article I meet with of an *home-correspondence* for such wicked purposes is, that of the *military-chest*, and a fund of £.200,000. said to be raised by contributions, for the use of the conspirators, and deposited in my hands. This stands upon Mr. *Pancier's* report, from Mr. *Skeen*, who has told your Lordships, that it is false ; and indeed, my Lords, I believe that it is ; for, though I know not Mr. *Skeen*, yet he has the reputation of a *sensible* man ; and therefore, I am persuaded, could not say so *filly* a thing. I refer myself to what my counsel have urged on this head ; and shall
begin only

only add my solemn assurances, that I never had in my possession or power, of my own, or other man's money lodged in *my* hands, or in the hands of *others* with my consent or privity, either in specie, bills, bonds, or securities of any kind, full £.1,200. at any one time of my life, since I married my daughter about eight years ago, *except* the money I collected for the dormitory; and which, as soon as I had it, I deposited in other hands, that I judged responsible. It would be well for me (if I must be ruined by the present bill) that this article were in some measure true; for, as no great sum appears to have been disbursed on this plot, I suppose the gentlemen concerned would not envy me my share of it: and then the thoughts of perpetual exile would be more tolerable, when I was sure of some support. The Committee of the House of Commons *beat* upon this point often, and make use of it to corroborate several of their surmises and guesses upon ambiguous passages in intercepted letters. One would think they were in earnest! And yet they are all of them honourable men, and of good understanding.

I wish it were practicable, my Lords, to insert an advertisement in the Gazette, inviting every man who had lodged any money with me for such a purpose to declare it, and promising him pardon. I would willingly join in such invitation, by signing it myself. And if any one person of character should, with circumstances of credibility, affirm any such thing, I would not put your Lordships to the trouble of convicting me, but own the whole charge.

I am not *proved*, therefore I am not with the least colour of proof *charged*, to have *consulted* and *conspired* here at home.

The next (and indeed the only material) part of the charge is, my *corresponding abroad with the Pretender and those employed by him, knowing them to be so employed*,

An high and heinous accusation, my Lords! strongly *asserted*, much *insisted* on; but how maintained? is the question.

The true state of this part of my charge, as fairly and fully as I can collect it, is this; I will not, in any degree, dissemble the force of it.

1. That

1. That I did (April 20, 1722) dictate *three letters**, to Mr. *Dillon*, the late Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender* himself; under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Musgrave*, and *Jackson*; to which letters the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, and the number 1378 (all denoting me) were, by my direction, subscribed.

2. That afterwards two letters from two of these, *Mar* and *Dillon* (of the dates of May 11th and July 25) were sent me, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*; and intercepted coming to me.

3. That a certain intercepted correspondence between the Pretender's agents abroad, and some persons here, attributed partly to Mr. *Kelly*, and partly to Mr. *Carte* on this side, was directed *by me*; and that I was at the head of it, and am therefore answerable for what is contained in it.

This is the substance of my charge: all the other particulars alledged are *circumstantial*, and made use of only as they are thought to give light and strength to one or other of these articles.

* See these in vol. I. p. 120, et seq.

As to the *first* of these points, That the letter to *Jackson* most certainly *was not a letter to the Pretender* ; and, to whomsoever it was written, yet that I did not, and could not, possibly dictate either *that*, or the *two others* of the same date, has been made out to your Lordships, by such a variety of convincing reflections, and such a concurrence of evidence (clear, full, and legal evidence) as, I persuade myself, can have left no doubt remaining upon the mind of any candid and indifferent person.

A plain matter of fact, supported by such united testimonies, cannot be overthrown by those little guesses and surmises that are brought to shake it.

Indeed, I was under the known difficulty of proving a *negative*, which in *many* cases is *not* to be done. But it so happened in *this* case, that the peculiar circumstances attending this point of time, and never concurring in any other part of my life, have enabled me to do it ; and, as they have given great advantages towards colouring the charge brought against me, so have they given me still greater towards removing it. My being confined April 20, 1722, to my bed or chair,
and

and attended every minute, day and night, *before, at, and after* that time, by *some* of my servants, and receiving frequent messages by *others* about my wife's illness and approaching death; the agreeing testimony of the whole family, that no *stranger* came near me about this time; and the coincidence of the election for the school of Westminster, which made my several servants capable of recollecting the times at which they were either *with me* or *from me*; have concurred towards furnishing me with such a proof of my innocence in this matter as, I hope, is not to be withstood.

That these three letters are in the hand of Mr. Kelly, my supposed amanuensis, has been sworn by the clerks of the post-office: but, your Lordships will remember, their oaths were at four months distance from the time of seeing those letters: that, during that whole series of letters stopped and copied, they never had an opportunity of comparing one original with another; and that the only original of August 20, which they detained as a specimen of the rest, has been proved, at your bar, by witnesses, not to be in the hand of Mr. Kelly; and you will likewise

wife please to remember, that the very supposition of Mr. *Kelly's* being my secretary for such affairs, or even in any degree of intimacy with me, has been shewn to be false and groundless.

The *decyphers* assertions are necessary to support this part of the charge. But, I hope, they will not be e'er the more prevalent with your Lordships because the accused person has had no opportunity of examining them. This cannot possibly be done at your *bar*; and when I desired *copies*, in order to consider them *elsewhere*, they were denied me. Whereas, with your favour, my Lords, I had hopes, that such new evidence, depending on the integrity, as well as skill of the dealers in this dark art, might have been attended also with some new indulgence to to the criminal; and that nothing should have been produced against me which I could not *confute* only *because* I could not *understand*.

From *one instance* upon which these gentlemen have been examined, it has appeared that they are at a loss to prove the *certainty* of their *conclusions*, built on such *uncertain premises*; and that the *science of decyphering* (with

(with the leave of the Noble and Right Reverend Lords that drew up the Report) is not a phrase that belongs to them. It may be an *art*, and carry *some* degree of *probability* with it, in *some* cases: but being founded on *guesses*, and those (as you have heard) sometimes very uncertain and precarious, it can be no *science*. Nor ought such explications of decyphers to be urged by way of testimony in any *criminal* cause, unless the party accused had had time allowed him sufficient to examine into the truth of those explications; which these gentlemen themselves have owned at your bar cannot, on the spot and in an instant, be done: and, I hope, their opinion will have as much weight with your Lordships in *one* case, as their conjectures in *another*.

If it be said, *Who* then wrote these *three* letters, and with *what* view were they written? the answer to the *latter* of these questions is pretty obvious: my being here at your bar sufficiently explains it. But am I to be called upon to give any account of the *former*? It is sufficient for *me* to prove who *did not* write them, and I have proved it

abun-

abundantly. Let but any momentous part of the charge brought against me be made out with *half* the evidence, and I will submit without disputing it. *Five* or *six* such *living witnesses* would have borne down the testimony of *one* or *two*, who should even have sworn the contrary. But where there are *none* on the *one* side (but only uncertain guesses and specious *appearances*), and such a *crowd* of positive direct witnesses on the *other*; can your Lordships-deliberate for a moment about the reasonableness of fixing your judgments, which ought always, even in doubtful cases, to lean toward the favourable side?

I shall therefore take this point, in what follows, as once for all established and granted; and go on securely to show the weakness of the *rest* of the allegations, which have no *strength* but as they derive it from *this*. When once the foundation is undermined, the rest of the building must totter and tumble.

As to the other part of the accusation on this head, that the Letter to *Jackson* was a letter to the *Pretender*, I have nothing to do with it. He that wrote that letter, when known, will best be able, as he is most concerned,

cerned, to disprove it. However, since this objection was thrown in merely *ad constandam invidiam*, and as carrying an odious sound with it, I shall briefly shew your Lordships how that matter stands. *Jackson*, it seems, in a cypher of Plunket's, is said to denote the Pretender: therefore, in a letter supposed to be dictated by me, and put into cypher by Mr. Kelly, it must denote him also. Now Plunket's cypher, my Lords, consists of 150 names, of which not one is even used in any of the letters attributed to Mr. Kelly. Three or four of these names are indeed used by persons supposed to have written to Mr. Kelly from abroad: but not one of them is used by him. Nor does *Jackson* ever in his part of the correspondence stand for the Pretender; though he has fifty occasions of mentioning him, it is always under other appellations. Nay, Plunket himself, in all his letters written upon this cypher, never styles the Pretender *Jackson*, but either *Joseph* or *Jephson*. Why should a name in Kelly's correspondence be explained by an article in Plunket's cypher, which Kelly appears no way to be acquainted with, and which Plunket himself never in this instance used? I forbear any further
repe-

repetition on this head, and shall only add, that at this rate of interpreting the feigned names in one man's letters by the cypher of another, what is there that might not be proved? The gentlemen at the bar have made *some* observations of this kind: let *me* add *one more*. In the intercepted correspondence, the *Pretender* is sometimes styled *Addison*: but in *Plunket's* cypher, *Addison* stands always for the *Abp. of Canterbury*. I make this remark with all-due regard to that most reverend Prelate, and think it no greater a reflection upon *him*, than it is upon *me* to have the name *Justus* allotted me in the same cypher: which yet the Committee of the Lower House think to be an observation of some weight; else they would not have given it a place in their report.

[* In *this* point also (and indeed in every point) those who undertook my defence laboured under a very great hardship; since they had no other materials to help them to disprove the misapplication made of the feigned name of *Jackson*, but what they had

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

from

from the *Report* and *Appendix*. And yet, even by the help of *these*, they have been able to do it so clearly, so effectually, as to admit of no reply. Doubtless, whoever had the opportunity they wanted, of inspecting *all* original papers relating to the conspiracy, *must*, or *might* have known *still* better than *they* have been able to *prove*, that *Jackson* (to whom the letter of April 20 is directed) *was not the Pretender*.]

My Lords, these *three* were the only letters at first expressly ascribed to *me*. There is another to *Dubois* *, lately found out to be of my handwriting: of which those who seized my papers eight months ago were so little aware, that, though they had then 500 others, confessedly of my *hand-writing*, yet they never, upon a *comparison* of them with *this*, suspected it to have been written *by me*; and therefore it was charged in the *Report* as a letter I had received, which discovered one of the fictitious names that belonged to me. The tables are now turned; and I myself have written this letter to a feigned correspondent, and preserved it among my papers under the original seal, a Tully's

* See vol. I. p. 121.

head,

head, the same which I have used on other occasions. To what end, my Lords; for the letter itself is an errant trifle, and not worth preserving? Why, to furnish a proof, which was very much wanted, of my answering letters by the hand of Mr. *Johnson*, alias *Kelly*. Very strange! that I, who am represented as being so cautious on all *other* occasions, should be so careless on *this*; and keep such a slight note of my own (the very original under my own hand and seal!) which could be of no use to me, and yet might hurt me so much when discovered. But, in truth, it is not of my hand-writing: I appeal securely to every one that knows it. Had I written it, it is absurd to think that I should use a feigned name only for my correspondent, and mention Mr. *Kelly* without disguise by the name of *Johnson*, which (as the Committee observe on this very occasion) *was the name by which he constantly went*. It has no date of the *year*, and by the *ink* seems to have been written many years ago: if above *four*, it was before I had ever seen the face of Mr. *Kelly*.

As to the *seal*, it is a common one; and that nothing can be inferred from thence,
appears

appears from the examinations taken at your bar, to which I refer myself.

I know not what further can be said on this matter till the counsel have further explained themselves, and told us what use they intend to make of the experiments about the similitude of seals; which has given your Lordships much trouble, and which, I own, I do not comprehend.

However, this Letter to *Dubois*, as insignificant as it may be in other respects, yet thus far is of use, as it shews the weakness of any charge that is supported by such uncertain conjectures and precarious reasonings. Two schemes have been advanced concerning it, contradicting each other; one of them *must*, and both *may* be false; and whichever of them is true, yet nothing to the disadvantage of the person accused can be built upon either.

The extraordinary step lately taken at the Tower, in order to discover somewhat that might fortify the conjectures raised on this letter, do, I think, shew that they were not much depended on. Else surely it had not been worth while to endeavour to

strengthen them by such an act of illegal violence !

The second article of my charge is, that two letters from *Mar* and *Dillon*, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*, were intercepted coming to me. One of them the counsel for the bill hath dropped, but I shall consider both of them. That they *reached* me, is not *affirmed* ; that I *answered* them, is not *pretended* ; and is by me, with great truth, *denied*. Both the letters are mere compliments, without a criminal expression, or a word of business in either of them. They would affect me indeed if received, as the persons *supposed* to have written them are such with whom I ought to maintain no correspondence. But is that *proved*, as well as *supposed* ? Is there any *evidence* concerning the *hands* in which they were written ? Not a word ! And yet *that* seems very necessary in order to ascertain the charge. Any man that pleases may write to me, and take to himself what feigned *names* he pleases. But I am not answerable for such letters, unless I appear to have received and approved them, and to have kept up the correspondence ; nothing

thing of which kind is, in this case, attempted to be made out.

The letter from *Motfield* to *Illington*, of May 11, cannot reasonably be thought to have been written with any other view than that of being intercepted, and of fixing on me the letter of April 20 to *Musgrave*, the receipt of which is there owned; and something is further added, to point out my function and circumstances, and prevent mistakes. This letter is committed to the common post, and sent upon its errand! One may doubt *who* wrote it: but one cannot doubt with what design it was written. Your Lordships wisdom will see through these malicious disguises, and not make me accountable for letters thus bandied to and fro in the dark, between two unknown correspondents, on purpose to raise suspicions of a *third*, who is altogether a stranger to what they are doing.

And here, my Lords, I desire that the observation made by my counsel may not be forgotten, that, in all the intercepted letters from abroad, the persons that lie hid under *fictitious names* are scarce ever discovered and pointed out by the addition of such facts

and dates, and particular circumstances, as may fasten those names upon them; so that the Committee, though they make a shift to guess, yet are often at a loss to say with any assurance who is meant by them. In my case only the matter is otherwise; for the fictitious names applied to me are attended generally with such descriptions and circumstantial accounts, as may naturally lead those who should intercept the letters to fix on me. The writers of them use their art, not to disguise, but open the scene, and seem to be in pain lest they should not be well enough understood wherever they would have it thought that I am concerned. Now this, being contrary to the methods of reserve practised by them in all other cases, smells strongly of contrivance.

The letter of July 25, from *Dixwell* to *Weston*, is an exception in this case, and not so well contrived as it should have been if I am to be understood by *Weston*. It is written upon the plan of those circumstances I was under two or three months before; which the writer had heard of, and unluckily applied at a juncture when they were altogether improper and impertinent. And though he reached

reached his aim in *one* respect, that his letter was *intercepted*, yet he missed it in *another*; for it does not *describe* me.

My Lords, these two are the *only* instances of my being *directly* concerned in any foreign correspondence. They are not sufficient, when duly considered, even to blast a man's *fame*: shall they contribute to affect me in so high a manner as is intended?

It remains to be considered in the third place, whether a certain intercepted correspondence between the Pretender's agents *abroad* [*and Mr. Kelly was] really *directed* by me; whether I was at the head of it, and am therefore to answer for what is contained in it.

That *I am not*, Mr. Kelly himself, I hear, has *owned* at your bar; and *declared* that he never imparted a *line* to me of any *one* letter he wrote to foreign parts: [†and if Mr. Carte was here, he would, I am sure, out of justice to me, and regard to truth, make the like declaration. Since he is not, I can only purge myself of it in the most serious and awful manner, as I will do before I finish

* Originally, [and some persons *here*, and attributed partly to Mr. Kelly, and partly to Mr. Carte, on *this side*, was really, &c.]

† This passage is crossed out in the Bishop's copy.

what I have to say to your Lordships.] I meddle not with what concerns *him*, any farther than it may be thought to affect *me*. And the chief instance of that kind which occurs, is the present of the *dog*, said to be made to Mr. *Jones* or Mrs. *Illington*.

The true account of that matter is, that in a letter to *Hatfield*, May 5th, from one who signs 918 (interpreted *Marr*) are these words, *The little dog was sent ten days ago, and ordered to be delivered to you*. But there is no intimation in this, or any other letter from *abroad*, that the present was intended further. In two other letters from *hence* (by *whom* written does not yet appear) somebody is mentioned, under the different names of Mr. *Jones* and Mrs. *Illington*, in such a manner as if the present had been designed for that person: but with such absurd circumstances as are neither applicable to my wife nor me. Particularly, May 7, in a letter from *Hatfield*, it is said, *Mrs. Illington is in great tribulation for poor Harlequin*; which, being five days after the burial of my wife, cannot mean *her*; and, being but five days after it, can as little mean *me*, considering the melancholy circumstances I was then under. So that the writer of this letter must either have known
nothing

nothing of my family affairs; or, if he did, must have dissembled his knowledge of them, in order to raise a suspicion of me with relation to this present. And in either case, what he says is not to be regarded.

The French surgeon and Mr. Kelly, who only know any thing of this matter, clear me. Mrs. Barnes has varied in her evidence, and has sometimes affirmed, and sometimes denied, that the dog was for me. And the most that she has ever said on that head is, that Mr. Kelly once told her so. For myself, I can with all truth and seriousness say, that I never *asked, received, or saw* this present, nor know any thing of it but from *common fame*; nor have I to this day had any *letter or message* whatever, from any one, concerning it.

The aim of this little contrivance seems to have been to point me out as the person to whom the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, subscribed to the letters of April 26, belonged; by using them again on the occasion of this *present*, and taking care so to manage the whole as that it should become matter of public discourse. And perhaps they were not much in the wrong, who thought, that *one*

intercepted dog might be as useful to this purpose as *ten intercepted letters*. However, both ways were tried, and *must* have succeeded, had I not been able to prove that those letters were not written by my order, or with my knowledge. And therefore the use of such names in subsequent letters is only a continuance of the fraud thus begun; and the latter is easily accounted for, when once we are satisfied of the former.

And this observation runs through the whole of this correspondence, wherever the names of *Jones* and *Illington* occur. To apply these to *me*, because they are said to belong to me in the letters of April 20, is to *beg* the very point that is *denied*; and has not only been *denied*, but *disproved* with all manner of evidence and clearness.

My counsel have shewn, that some things said of *Jones* in (what is called) the intercepted correspondence are to the last degree absurd when applied to *me*. And no one would ever have thus applied them, but upon a supposition that I dictated the letter of April 20, to which the name of *Jones* is subscribed. That supposition is destroyed

and

and with it every thing falls that depends altogether upon it.

I can add little to what my counsel have said concerning the other feigned names of *Rig* and *Weston*; and shall not trouble your Lordships with mere repetitions. It has been shewn, that what is said of these in *some instances*, cannot possibly mean *me*; if in *other* obscure passages I am designed by those names (which I neither admit nor deny), the writers of such letters, when discovered, can best explain their own *meaning*: it is all a riddle to me; and till I am proved to have been privy to this correspondence (which can never be done) the solution of it no ways concerns me. The coincidence of my journeys to and from Bromley, with the accounts given by the writers of these letters, was the point principally relied on to prove that they had frequent access to me, and therefore probably wrote by my advice and direction. But your Lordships have heard it made out (and because it is very material, I shall briefly repeat it), that of *seven* instances of this kind insisted on in the Report, *three* are manifest mistakes; *two* only of the accounts are exact; and *two* others may be right or wrong,

wrong, as the words are explained in this or that meaning. And had they all been exact, yet nothing could have been inferred from them, because it was easy for the person who managed this transaction here to get an account of my motions from my neighbours and servants, in order to render his contrivance the more plausible and probable.

That Mr. *Kelly* is no stranger to me, I own: but that he is in any degree intimate with me, or *frequently* saw me, I deny. Or what evidence is there for it, but the idle tales of Mrs. *Levet*? or how is his solemn denial of it at your bar contradicted? Mrs. *Kilburn* says, he was once to have *dined* with me: What then? *Flower* the chairman says, he carried him twice or thrice to the Deanry about *four years ago*, but never found me at home. I believe what he says is false: but admit it. *Vanlear* the porter says, he brought a letter and some stockings from Mr. *Kelly* to me at the Deanry, and carried once a sealed note from me back again to him, about Christmas was twelvemonth. The foundation of this story is true, that Mr. *Kelly* furnished me with beaver-stockings and gloves; and therefore I shall not dispute what he
says;

says; though that circumstance of a porter's coming up to me, at the dirtiest time of the year, into my bed-chamber, is very extraordinary. And even this evidence owns, that though he was the person that constantly went on Mr. Kelly's errands, when he was in the way, yet he never was sent by him but twice to me in some years.

There is no proof besides, but the late recollections of Mrs. Levet, since she was aspersed as a *woman of an ill fame* by Mrs. Barnes before the House of Commons, and has had perhaps other inducements to whet her memory, which yet goes no further than to cite Mrs. Barnes for what she says Mrs. Barnes told her from Kelly. And it is observable, that in the same deposition she quotes the same authority for 200 persons being sent out of the way, to prevent their discovering somewhat; and she insinuates that they were *murdered*: for that, I think, is the natural meaning of their *never seeing the light again*. I suppose, one part of her deposition is just as true as the other. Now, on the *other* side, there is the evidence of all my servants, and others, who have upon oath attested that they do not know either
the

the *name* or *face* of Mr. Kelly, which could not possibly be, if he used *frequently* to resort to me.

[* The same they say of Mr. Carte. Indeed a brother † of his, for whom, at the instance of a noble lord, I procured a living from the chapter of Westminster, saw me often for two or three years last past; but Mr. Carte the Nonjuror very rarely.]

Such a slight acquaintance as I had with either of them could be no temptation to enter into secrets of such a dangerous consequence as those which the Report supposes to have passed between us. They must know little either of *them* or *me*, that could *suspect* such a thing of me!

However, *suspicion* is not now the business, but *proof*. They that *prove something* may be allowed to *suspect more*: but they that *prove nothing* have no right to indulge their endless suspicions and conjectures to the ruin of any man; for twenty probabilities, *allowed to be such*, are not equal to one plain matter of fact, well attested. They may strengthen

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

† John Carte, M. A. Vicar of Hinckley.

the testimony of a living witness; but they cannot rise up to the force of it. They cannot of themselves be *evidence*, either in *law* or *reason*: because one set of probabilities may be opposed by another, and, at that rate, the mind of the judge must for ever be kept in suspense. I use this distinction between evidence in *law* and evidence in *reason*; because the counsel for the bill seem to have resorted to something like it: whereas I always thought, that the *public law* of the state was the *public reason* of the state, and that whatever might be *reasonable* evidence in *another* country (though in my conscience the evidence brought against me would be thought reasonable in none), yet in *this* country no evidence could be *reasonable* that was not *legal*.

But I ask, by what sort of evidence, either in law or reason, the accusation brought against me has been maintained?

How am I *proved*, in the

1st place, "To have traiterously *consulted*

" and *corresponded* with divers persons

" to raise an insurrection and rebel-

" lion against his Majesty *within* this

" kingdom, and to procure a *foreign*

" force

“force to *invade* the same, in order
 “to depose his Majesty, and place the
 “Pretender on his throne?”

How am I *proved*, in the
 2d place, “To have traitercully cor-
 “responded with the said Pretender,
 “and persons employed by him,
 “knowing them to be so employed?”

Is there *one* article of either of these charges
made out against me, I say not in the due
forms of law, but with any *colour* of reason?
 Is any one otherwise supported than by *sup-*
positions without proof, nay by suppositions
actually disproved, and shewn to be vain and
 groundless. If the *proof* brought, in all these
 cases, wants strength, can the *bearsays* of
Neynoe afford it any, which do themselves,
 above all other parts of the Report, want to
 be proved, and rendered credible?

Neynoe pretended not (for aught appears)
 to *know* any thing of *me*: He only quotes
 Mr. Kelly for his intelligence. Mr. Kelly ab-
 solutely denies it; and there is nobody else to
 back it. I think such a dead evidence cannot
 affect Mr. Kelly himself; much less can it
 affect

affect *me* through *him*, when he declares he never said any such things. Were *Neynoe* now alive, and Mr. Kelly dead, and incapable of contradicting him, what *Neynoe* pretended to have by *bearsay* only from *Kelly* would not sure be of much weight. Shall what *Neynoe*, now *dead*, says against a *third* person, and *Kelly* now *living* contradicts, be thought of any moment?

Concerning *bearsay evidence* in general, and the regard that is due to it, I desire your Lordships a passage may be read out of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder. [*N. B.* the whole preamble read.] There it is recited, as one of the inducements that moved the King, Lords, and Commons, to pass that act, that he had "contrived and "framed false and scandalous papers, as his "informations, reflecting on the fidelity of "several noble peers, divers members of the "House of Commons, and others, ONLY BY "HEARSAY." Shall *that* be accepted in *this* Parliament for *evidence*, which is declared to have been *one* motive for attainting a man in *another*? If it were an aggravation of Sir John Fenwick's guilt to have charged *other* men by *bearsay*, shall the being thus charged be

be any proof of mine? Surely that House of Commons in 1696, which brought in the bill, would not have thought so; nor will those of your Lordships so think, that consented (here or elsewhere) to the passing of it. And as for those who did not consent to it, I may venture to say that they will be exceedingly puzzled to find a reason why they opposed Sir J. Fenwick's bill, and yet favour the passing of this. Is the guilt objected to me, if it could be proved, in any measure, like his? or is there any comparison between the proof made against him, and that by which I am attacked, so as to make it unreasonable in his case, and reasonable in mine, to supply the defects of such proof by an act of parliament? But I return to *Neynoe*, into whose character and credibility it is needless to enquire, after the concurrent testimony of those five witnesses which appeared at your Lordships' bar on Thursday last. And even without their assistance, the very papers of informations given in by *Neynoe*, and printed in the Appendix, are sufficient to satisfy us of his character. It is plain he was prepared to have sworn backwards and forwards; to have affirmed or denied any thing.

He

He was let into all *secrets*, if you will believe him. He knew that a certain *Lord of the council* gave me notice of my being to be taken up, *some days before it happened*; he knew even to *what use and purpose the protests of your Lordships in the last session were chiefly designed and calculated*; and, as appears from the paper found in his pocket after his death, had *undertaken to give an account of it*. I wonder much that persons of good discernment should think it worth their while either to ask, or to receive such accounts from him; or even to print the paper wherein that monstrous article is contained, because it suggests a reflection, which, though it touches me nearly, I care not to explain. He was the late Earl Marischal's bedfellow for several nights: from him he received *beads*, and upon them drew up *three* several *memorials* to the *Regent*. It happened unfortunately that he kept no copy of these *beads*, nor the *sketches* of such *memorials*, which it imported him in the highest degree to have done, whether he then intended to go on in the way he was in of promoting the conspiracy, or to discover it. In *either* case, the evidence of his having been thus employed would

have been of great service to him. But he was not able to produce a line of such heads or memorials; and yet the Report of the House of Commons upon the basis of these memorials builds the whole fabric of the conspiracy.

He *knew*, what nobody else ever knew, that I have lain hid under the name of *Naunton*; and would doubtless have *known who* my correspondent *Dubois* was, had the scheme of my writing that letter myself been then thought of. He would have found out a reason for my corresponding with the Cardinal of that name; and £. 500. would have made him affirm, that he carried the letter *himself*; though, perhaps, afterwards he would not have stood to his word!

He knew the *Pretender's* particular opinion of *me*—or of *any body else* if it had been thought fit to ask him—that *he relied upon advices from me more than from any man*. How did he know it? *Kelly* told him so. But who told *Kelly* this? for it is not to be supposed that a man of Mr. Kelly's rank had it from the Pretender himself, but from persons of an high station, and nearer to the Pretender. Let us consider, once for all, how

how this part of Neynoe's evidence must stand upon the foot of a certain paper in the Appendix (E 8.), intituled, "Notes taken by " Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer," &c. A right honourable person hears *Neynoe* say, that he had heard *Kelly* say, what he must have heard persons of greater figure say, that they had heard the Pretender say, concerning the Bishop of Rochester. And by this chain of hearays, thus deduced, am *I proved* to be a sort of *first Minister* to the Pretender.

[* And this is to be offered *as* evidence to your Lordships; and if it be not received, you must either condemn me without any, or acquit me. For there is not an hearay beside this, and such as these from *Neynoe*, against me; except *one* other from *Pancier*, about the *military chest*, which has been already considered.]

Let me speak, my Lords, (always, I hope, with that modesty which becomes an accused person, but yet) with the freedom of an Englishman. Had nothing been opened to you concerning this man's character and secret transactions, could you possibly have be-

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

lieved the romantic tales he has told? Could this pretender to secrets have had, or shall he still have, any weight with your Lordships, who threw away his life rather than venture to stand to the truth of what he had said? Shall this man do more mischief by his death, than he could have done if living? for then he could have been confronted, puzzled, and confounded; shame and consciousness might have made him *unsay* what he had *said*. But a *dead* man can *retract* nothing. *What he has written he has written*; the accusation must stand just as it is; and we are deprived of the advantages of those *confessions*, which truth and remorse had once extorted, and would again have extorted from him.

However, I should have been glad to have had *all* that even this witness said; and would have hoped that, by a comparison of the several parts of the story he at several times told, some light might have been gained that is now wanting; particularly by the knowledge of what he said freely and voluntarily, and in good humour, before his rough usage upon his return from Deal had frightened him into new confession. But I think we have the evidence only of a few of the last
days

days of his life. All the preceding time, when he was most in favour and confidence with a great man, is a blank ; we have no account of it ; and yet, it is said, he underwent frequent examinations during that time. But they were not, it seems, so maturely weighed and digested as to be thought worth being committed to writing.

But he is *gone to his place*, and has answered for what he has said at another tribunal. I desire not to blemish his character any farther than is absolutely necessary to my *own just defence*, which I shall now pursue farther, by considering,

First, the *inconsistency* of some parts of the charge brought against me, and then the *utter improbability* of it.

The Report takes notice of three several branches, or stages, of the conspiracy ; the 1st, which (in consequence of some memorials to the Regent) was to have taken place *during the elections* ; the 2d, upon *the King's going to Hanover* ; the 3d, upon the breaking up of the encampment.

There is not an hint of my guilt as to the *last* of these three designs, in any paper whatsoever ; and yet the recitals of the bill men-

tion this third branch of the plot, and that most detestable part of it, the intention of *laying violent hands on his Majesty*; and charge me afterwards with the *whole*. And the counsel for the bill have opened it (very gravely) with an account of Mr. Layer's scheme, as if I had some concern in it, without offering the least proof to that purpose. These may be, for aught I know, the *forms of law* usual in such charges; but surely they are in themselves *cruel artifices*, to involve a man in the appearances of guilt where there is not the least colour or pretence for charging him.

Indeed of the *first* branch of the conspiracy, which was to have taken place *during the elections*, I am supposed by the Committee (Rep. p. 3.) not to have been ignorant. The only argument for my guilt in that case is, a passage in the letter to *Jackson*, April 20, 1722, where it is said, the *present opportunity* is elapsed, *i. e.* (say the Committee out of the plenitude of their interpreting power) the opportunity of the *elections*, *most of which were then over*.

To clear this point, and withal to shew how *inconsistent* the several parts of my accusation

fation are, I shall recite the entire passage, as it lies in that letter, and make some reflections upon it.

“Notwithstanding this opportunity is “elapfed,” says the writer to Jackson, “I agree with you, another may offer before “the end of the year, though not perhaps “every way fo favourable.” The Committee *suppose* this to have been a letter to the *Pretender*, and they *suppose* this letter to have been dictated by *me*, and they *suppose* these words of it to refer to the time of the *elections*; and from these three suppositions *infer*, that I knew somewhat of a design *then* to take place. On the contrary, I shall, even upon the two first of these suppositions, shew that it is impossible the *last* of the three, and the inference drawn from thence, should hold.

If this were a letter from *me* (or from *any one*) to the *Pretender*, it must have been in answer to one from him; repeating his very expressions, and *agreeing with* his opinion there declared, that a certain *opportunity was elapsed*. And his opinion expressed in that letter must have been founded on intelligence before received from England, which intel-

ligence, considering the distance between London and Rome, must have been communicated from hence *two months* at least, if not longer, before the date of these letters of April 20; and if we go back two months from April 20, the opportunity of the elections was then so far from being *elapsed*, that it was not in some time to happen. Consequently the *opportunity* hinted at in that letter of April 20 (whatever it meant) could not possibly mean the time of the *elections*, if this letter was (as the Committee not only suppose, but *affirm*) a letter to, and in answer to one written *from*, the Pretender.

My Lords, I am not now *proving* that this *was not* a letter to the Pretender, nor written by *me* (those two points have been so well settled already by my counsel as to need no further clearing); but I am observing to your Lordships (as I have a right to do) how *inconsistent* the charge is; since, if this had been a letter to the Pretender, it is impossible that these words of it should refer to the time of the elections; and again, if these words of it *do* refer to that time, it is impossible this should have been a letter to the Pretender.

The

The *inconsistence* of the *charge* may also from the same passage of this letter be manifested in *another* respect. For the person writing it April 20 (if it be a letter written in good earnest) appears to have *then* given over all thoughts of any new opportunity that should offer, till towards the *end of the year*. ["I agree with you," says he, "another opportunity may offer before the end of the year."] And yet the Committee find some words in a letter written *ten* days afterwards [May 1.] wherein the Bishop, under the feigned name of *Jones*, is supposed to be making some military preparations, and deeply engaged in that *second* branch of the conspiracy, which, they say, was designed upon the *King's going to Hanover*.

How do these things consist? If I wrote, or dictated, that Letter of April 20, I could not be engaged in the *second* branch of the conspiracy then under agitation; if I was engaged in it, how can I be imagined to have written that letter? *Both* cannot be *true*, yet *both* are *charged*. But *both* may be *false*: and, I hope, I have satisfied your Lordships that, as I did not dictate the *one*, so I was no ways concerned in the *other*. Can any one
believe

believe that I was, who reflects on the sad circumstances I was then under? Afflicted by the death of my wife not yet interred, and deprived of the use of all my limbs by a severe fit of the gout! was *that* a time for *Jones to provide himself* (as the phrase is) *with an easy saddle*? [*was *that* a time for him to be in *great tribulation for poor Harlequin*, as the correspondent here, whoever he was, expresses it?] is there a man so far under the power of prejudice as to believe that such an expression, at such a juncture, are applicable to me? I forbear further instances, though they are numerous; but I am naturally led, by this instance, to consider the *improbability* (as well as *inconsistence*) of the charge brought against me. For, my Lords, since I am charged, without positive proof, by *probabilities* alone, you will, I doubt not, allow me to answer my indictment in the same manner it is laid, and to set *one* collection of probabilities against another!

Is it probable, my Lords, that, if I were engaged in any such design, no footsteps should appear of any correspondence I have

* This sentence is crossed out in the Bishop's copy.

had

had with the late Duke of *Ormond*, to whom, of *all* the persons now abroad, I was best known, and for whom I had the greatest regard, and still have *all* the regard which is consistent with my duty to my King and my country?

Is it probable that I should choose rather to engage thus deeply with two persons, one of which I never saw, and with the other I was but very slightly acquainted when he left England? did I not know, what all the world knew, that he had left the Pretender's service now for many years, and was supported by a pension from hence? was this a season for me to enter into confidence with him about restoring the Pretender? and to do this, not by messages, but letters, and those sent, not by expresses, but by the common post; and containing such accounts of my circumstances and condition at that time (the most remarkable period of all my life) as, if my letters should be intercepted would go a good way towards fixing them upon me? that, by thus writing to *him* by the post, I should, as it were, invite him to write to *me* in the same manner, and by that means furnish new opportunities towards

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detecting the design, and bringing myself into danger?

How, upon this supposition, does that character of caution and wariness, under which I am represented, at all belong to me? must I not have been the most rash and indiscreet of all men, if I laid myself open to detection in so foolish a manner? was I secure, and thought I should not be watched and observed? It is plain, from a postscript to one of those letters, that the writer of them (whoever he was) thought otherwise. Could a man write that P. S. wherein he *resolves to send nothing by the post*, and yet send that very letter by the post? is it not much more probable, that the artful writer intended by this means to account for the non-interception of any letters from the same person afterwards? This is a consistent scheme; the other is a wild absurdity!

Is it probable that, when I was attending the sick bed of my wife, and was expecting her *death* not only *daily* but *hourly*, I should enter into negotiations of that kind, and never after, when I was more at ease and liberty, resume them?

There

There was no need of dispatching at *that* time any *one* of these three letters. The *matter* of them required no *expedition*. They are mere *excuses* for not writing; and had I been the inditer, the known circumstances of my family and health would have been a sufficient excuse for my silence; and a *third* hand would as *effectually* and more *decently* have conveyed that excuse.

Is it probable that, when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds at *Westminster* and *Bromley*, when I was consulting all the books of the church of *Westminster* from the foundation, and was engaged also in a correspondence with two learned men*, about a subject of great use and equal difficulty, the settling the times of writing the Four Gospels, that I should at *that very time* be directing and carrying on a conspiracy? He that can entertain such a thought of me without reason, may also condemn me without a witness; and arguments will signify nothing to him.

Is it probable that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and forward this conspiracy, and yet nobody living know

* The then Bishop of Oxford Dr. Potter, and Dr. Wall.

where,

where, when, and with whom, they were held? that I, who lived always at home, and never (when at the Deanry) stirred out of one room, where I received all company promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have opportunities of concerting such matters; or, if I had, yet that none of my domesticks, or friends with whom I most familiarly lived, should ever observe any appearances of this kind? that, if I had been in these measures, no evidence of it would have been found in my papers, which were all at once seized at both my houses, and sifted with the utmost exactness? that, after above *eight* months imprisonment, and above *twelve* months diligent enquiry into my conduct and correspondence, my friendships and acquaintances; after confining all my men servants (but one) now for seven weeks, and searching me twice in the Tower itself, in order to make new discoveries; nothing of consequence should appear against me, nor any *one* living witness charge me with any thing really criminal?

Is it probable that I should form a direct conspiracy, that was to be carried on by force of arms, and to owe all its success to the
opera-

operations of war, with which I am no more acquainted than I am with the persons fit to be employed on those occasions? My way of life has not led me to be conversant with such men and such matters: I have sat in *Chapters*, in *Convocations*, in *Parliaments*; but in a *Council of War* I never sat, much less was at the head of it.

Have I ever yet, in any one instance of my life, meddled remarkably out of my own sphere, in affairs that were foreign to my employments and character, and of which I could be no competent judge? I may have been thought perhaps too active in my proper stations and business: but I was never charged with interposing in matters with which I was no ways acquainted, and must have appeared ridiculous in pretending to conduct.

Is it not rather probable that such a military scheme (if there *were* any such) should have been formed and directed by men of the *sword*, though they yet remain undiscovered? must the whole accusation and punishment, without proof and without probability, center in *me*, whose profession and way of life sets me at the greatest distance from such designs,

signs, and from the suspicion of being concerned in them?

And yet I must be the sacrifice, and suffer almost all the pains and penalties (short of death) which a Parliament can inflict, for a supposed scheme of war, which I do not to this day comprehend; and for which, as far as it appears, I think the men concerned should be rather pitied as madmen, than punished as traitors.

Here is a plot of a year or two's standing, to subvert this government by force of arms. Military preparations are said to have been made for it. There was to be an invasion from abroad, an insurrection and rebellion at home. Just when it was ripe for execution, it is discovered; and, after a twelve-month's search for the contrivers and conductors of this scheme, no consultations appear to have been held, no money to have been raised, and (which is stranger) no arms, officers, or soldiers, to have been provided. Not a man of the army is engaged in it: a poor *Bishop* has done all, and must suffer for it.

What could tempt me, my Lords, thus to step out of my way? Was it *ambition*, and a desire of climbing into an higher station in

the Church? There was not a man of my order further removed from views of this kind than *I* am. I have an hundred times said (and sincerely resolved) that I would be nothing *more* than I was (at a time when I little thought of being *less*) whatever turns of state should happen; and I could give an instance of this kind (if it were proper) that would shew I was in earnest.

Was *money* my aim? I always despised it: too much perhaps, considering the occasion I may *now* have for it. Out of a poor Bishoprick of £. 500. a year (for it has been clearly worth no more to *me*) I did in eight years time lay out £. 2000. upon the house and the appurtenances; and because I knew the circumstances in which my predecessor left his family, I took not one shilling for dilapidations from his executors. And the rest of my income has all been spent as that of a Bishop should be spent (pardon, my Lords, the freedom of the expression) in hospitality and charity. Nor do I repine at that expence even *now*; not questioning in the least but that God, who has provided for me hitherto, will provide for me still; and on his Providence I securely depend.

Was influenced by any dislike of the Established Religion; any secret inclinations towards Popery, a church of greater pomp and power? Malice has ventured even thus far to asperse me. My Lords, ever since I knew what Popery was, I disliked it; and the better I knew it, the more I opposed it. I began my studies in Divinity (when the Popish controversy grew hot) with the immortal work of Mr. *Chillingworth*, which I have read from that day to this, with new pleasure, and without satiety. He is no narrow-spirited writer, but the buckler of the *Protestant* cause in general, and as such I esteemed him above all others. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I add (what would come ill from my mouth if I had not reason to purge myself from these foolish reflections) that thirty-seven years ago* I wrote in the defence of *Martin Luther*, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the only divine, or member of this church, that has defended him in a treatise expressly writ for that purpose, from the infancy of the Reformation to this day. And whatever happens to me, my Lords, I will suffer any thing, and would (by God's grace) burn at a stake, rather than, in any material

* It was first published in 1687, and again in 1723.
point,

point, depart from the Protestant religion as professed in the Church of England.

Once more, my Lords, can I be suspected as entering into any such designs, from any principles I had imbibed, favourable to Arbitrary Power, and destructive of Liberty? The whole tenor of my life speaks otherwise. I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my power, a constant maintainer of it. I may have been mistaken *perhaps* in the measures I took for its support, at junctures when it was thought expedient for the state to *seem* to neglect public liberty, in order, I suppose, to secure it. But this error (if it were one) was only a misapplication of the principle which I always steadily and unvariably pursued: while I saw others, who would be thought the great patrons of liberty, undermining the very foundation of it.

Names may alter; but *things* continue always the same. I have not mattered by what *party-term* I was called, so my actions were uniform and of a piece.

To return therefore to the point, from which I may seem to have digressed.

The charge brought against me, and in the manner it is brought, is, under all the views we can take of it, *improbable* and *incredible*. If I could be guilty of it, I must have acted under a spirit of infatuation; and yet I have not been hitherto thought an *idiot* or a *mad-man*.

My Lords, as to the *pains* and *penalties* contained in this bill, they are great and grievous beyond example to a man in my circumstances. I find them *no where* but in the act for banishing the Earl of Clarendon, nor even *there* in the same extent either as to their nature or *duration*. For it is particularly provided by that act, that the *pains* and *penalties* of it should cease, if by a day prefixed the Earl rendered himself to justice. I am *here*, my Lords, and have been here expecting for *eight* months my *Legal Trial*. Was ever any man, in the same case, banished by act of parliament? Upon an impeachment by the House of Commons, that noble Earl *fled*; and with reason, as the temper of the times then was: however, he *fled*. I have declined no impeachment, no due course of law that might have been taken; and yet I am to be *banished*. A correspondence

dence indeed with that Earl was made *treason*; with me it is only *felony*: that is, one witness may prove such a correspondence with me; had *treason* been the consequence, *two* would have been requisite. He was allowed an intercourse with his children by the express words of the act. *Mine* are not so much as to write or send any message to me without a *sign manual*.

And what is most particular in my case (I will speak it *distinctly*, that my Right Reverend Brethren may *bear it*), I am rendered, as far as the civil power can render me, incapable of *using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power, ecclesiastical or spiritual, whatsoever*, not only in any of his Majesty's dominions (no such limitation is expressed), but for aught I can find any where in Christendom; as if I held such *spiritual powers*, not from CHRIST himself, but by the authority, and at the pleasure, of an act of parliament.

Why should I dwell on the other parts of my punishment, which agree with His? or trouble your Lordships with pleas for mitigation? I insist on my *innocence*; my *real*,

as well as *legal* innocence: that I *am not* guilty; and, if I *were*, am not *proved* so.

If your Lordships thus judge, I am sure you will quash the bill; for you are just. If you shall judge otherwise, yet I persuade myself you will temper it; for you are merciful. You will not strip a man of his subsistence, and then send him where he cannot subsist. You will not first exercise severity upon him *yourselves*, and then hinder *others* from performing any acts of common humanity towards him. You will have the *goodness*, at least, not to bar the King from shewing *his*, if and *when* he shall see occasion; nor render his Majesty to any *one* of his poor subjects *less* the image of God than he is: for *that* resemblance consists more in *pardon*ing than *punish*ing.

The Great Man I mentioned carried a great *fortune* along with him into a foreign country: he had *languages*, was well acquainted abroad, and spent the best part of his years in *exile*, and was therefore every way qualified to support it. The reverse of all this is my fate. Indeed I am like him in nothing, but his *innocence* and his *punishment*. It is in no man's power to make us differ in the *one*; it
is

is in your Lordships to distinguish us *widely* in the *other*; and I hope you will do it.

But to sum up the argument.

Our Law has taken care, that there should be a more clear and full proof of *treason* than of any *other* crime whatsoever. And reasonable it is, that a crime, attended with the highest penalties, should be made out by the clearest and fullest evidence. And yet here is a charge of high treason brought against me, not only without *full* evidence, but without any evidence at *all*, i. e. any such evidence as the law of the land knows and allows. And what is not evidence at *law* (pardon me for what I am going to say) can never be made such, in order to punish what is past, but by a violation of the law. For the law, which prescribes the nature of the *proof* required, is as much the law of the land, as that which declares the *crime*; and *both* must join to convict a man of guilt. And it seems equally unjust to declare any sort of *proof* legal, which was not so before a prosecution commenced for any act done, as it would be to declare the *act* itself *ex-post-facto* to be *criminal*.

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Now

Now there never was a charge of so high a nature so strongly pressed, and so weakly supported—supported, not by any living or dead witness, speaking from his own knowledge, but by mere hearsays and reports from others; contradicted by the very persons from whom they are said to be derived—*supported* not by any one criminal *deed* proved to have been *done*, not by any one criminal *line* proved to have been either *written* or *received*, not even by any one criminal *word* proved to have been *spoken* by me; but by intercepted letters in a correspondence, to which it *appears* not that *I was*, and to which it is *certain* that *I was not* privy; some of these letters shewn to have been contrived with a design of fastening them upon me, as a foundation of the scheme which was to follow; others, written with the same view, employing the same fictitious names, and throwing out dark and suspicious hints, concerning the persons meant by those names, and endeavouring by little facts and circumstances, sometimes *true*, sometimes *doubtful*, and often *false*, to point out that person to such as should intercept those letters, who continues all this time a stranger to the whole transaction,

action, and never *makes* the discovery till he *feels* it, and finds it advanced into a solemn accusation; till the *pestilence that walked in darkness*, becomes *the arrow that flyeth by noon-day*.

[* This, my Lords, is a true account of those proofs by which the charge of high treason against me is maintained. And if such proofs, in such a case, be admitted, what man is safe? who is there that these decyphers and copyers may not have in their power? who that may not, at this rate, by two persons, placed one at Paris, and the other at London, and informing themselves of his motions and circumstances, be writ *into* a plot, and *out* of his fortunes, liberty, honour, and life *itself*; and be all the while innocent, and ignorant of what is doing?]

My Lords, this is my case; I have *shewed* it so to be; though I had the hard task upon me of *proving a negative*, and had no other lights to guide me but those the Report affords. And shall I stand convicted before your Lordships upon such *an evidence as this*?

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

by

by the hearsay of an hearsay (for this often is the case), and that denied by the very person into whose testimony all must be resolved; by strained reasonings and inferences, from obscure passages, and fictitious names in letters, the contents of which were entirely a secret to me, till I saw them in print: by the conjectures of decyphers, without any opportunity given me (though I humbly asked it) to examine into the truth of their explanations; by the depositions of post-office clerks about the similitude of hands, some of which have been formerly known to be the most dextrous counterfeiters of them; and these depositions made at many months distance from the time of their seeing the first letters, and without comparing any one of the originals they copied with another; by little surmises and *probabilities*, built on a false bottom, and which (that foundation being shaken) must appear altogether *improbable*; by attempts to render me *suspected of suspicion of treason*, for nothing more, I am persuaded, can be made of the arguments drawn from what is called the *intercepted correspondence*?

Shall

Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Englishman (for in the circumstances to which I am to be reduced *life* itself is scarce valuable) by *such an evidence as this!* such an evidence as would not be admitted in any other cause, in any other court; nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew in the Inquisitions of Spain or Portugal; shall it be received against *me*, a Bishop of this Church, and a Member of this House, in a charge of high treason brought in the High Court of Parliament? *God forbid!*

Suffer me, my Lords, (I know you will suffer me) to put you *all* (and particularly my Right Reverend *brethren*) in mind of a text of Holy Writ: *Against an Elder* receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses. It is not said, Condemn him not upon an unsupported accusation; but, *receive it not*, give it no countenance, or encouragement. And I am somewhat *more than* an *Elder* as the word there imports. Shall an accusation be received against *me*, without any *one witness* to maintain it! My Lords, this is not a direction merely for ecclesiastical judicatories; it was taken by St. Paul from the civil and judicial part of the law of Moses.

For there we read, *One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or any sin that he sinneth; at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established.* And as this rule was transplanted from the *state* into the *church* by an inspired authority; so would it be no blemish to any *Christian state*, if they always thought fit to follow it in such cases as this now before your Lordships. The laws of this Christian state *have* actually followed it, and made two witnesses necessary in accusations of treason. Shall I be the first Bishop of this Church prosecuted and condemned upon two or three *bearsays*, two or three *conjectures* about names, and obscure passages in letters, instead of two or three witnesses? and will they who are most concerned to *resist* this precedent, contribute to *make* it, and to derive the sad influence of it to all succeeding times; and even concur in *such* an act, on *such* an evidence, to render me incapable of *using* or *exercising* any office, function, authority, or power ecclesiastical or spiritual *whatsoever*? Is this either good *divinity* or good *policy*? I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say,

Doubtless

Doubtless the Legislature is without bounds. It may do what it pleases; and whatever it does is binding. Nay, in some respects, it has greater power (with reverence be, it spoken) than the Sovereign Legislator of the Universe: for *He can* do nothing *unjustly*! But though no limits can be set to Parliaments, yet they have generally thought fit to prescribe limits to themselves; and so to guide even their proceedings by bill in criminal cases, as to depart as little as is possible from the known laws and usages of the realm. The Parliament may, if it pleases, by a particular act, order a criminal to be tortured who will not confess; for who shall gainsay them? But they never did it; nor, I presume, ever will; because torture, though practised in *other* countries, is unknown in *ours*, and repugnant to the temper and genius of our mild and free government: and yet, my Lords, it looks, methinks, somewhat *like* torture, to inflict grievous pains and penalties on a person only *suspected* of guilt, but not legally *proved* guilty, in order to extort some confession or discovery from him. This, in other countries, is called putting *to*

to the question ; and it matters not much by what engines or method such an experiment is made.

The Parliament may (if it pleases) by an express law, adjudge a man to absolute perpetual imprisonment, as well as to perpetual exile ; without reserving to the Crown any power of determining such imprisonment. They have enacted the one ; I find not they ever enacted the other. And the reason seems to have been, because our law, which above all others provides for the liberty of the subject's *person*, knows nothing of such absolute perpetual imprisonment.

The Parliament may in like manner condemn a man upon a charge of *accumulative and constructive* treason. They did so once, in the case of the Earl of Strafford ; but they repented of it afterwards, and ordered *all the records and proceedings of parliament relating thereto* to be wholly cancelled, defaced, and obliterated, *to the intent the same might not be visible in after-ages, or brought into example to the prejudice of any person whatsoever.* My Lords, it was the fate of that great person thus to fall by *accumulative and constructive* treason. A much less now stands before you,
who

who is attacked by *accumulative* and *constructive* proofs of his guilt: that is, by such proofs as in themselves, and when taken single and apart, are allowed to prove nothing; but when taken together, and well interpreted and explained, are said to give mutual light and strength to each other, and by the help of certain inferences and deduction to have the *force*, though not the *formality*, of legal evidence. Will such proofs be ever admitted by your Lordships, in order to deprive a fellow-subject of his fortunes, his fame, his friends, and his country, and send him in his old age, without language, without limbs, without health, and without a provision for the necessities of life, to live, or rather *starve*, amongst foreigners? I say again, God forbid!

My ruin is not of that moment to any man, or any *number* of men, as to make it worth their while to violate (or even *seem* to violate) the constitution in any degree to procure it. In preserving and guarding *that* against all attempts, the safety and the happiness of every Englishman lies. But when once, by such extraordinary steps as these, we depart from the fixed rules and forms of justice, and try

untrodden paths, no man knows *whither* they will lead him, or *where* he shall be able to stop, when *pressed* by the crowd that follow him.

Though *I* am worthy of no regard; though whatever is done to *me* may be looked upon as *just*; yet your Lordships will have some regard to your own lasting interests, and those of the state; and not introduce into criminal cases a sort of evidence with which our constitution is not acquainted, and which, under the appearance of supporting it, at first, may be afterwards made use of (I speak my honest fears) gradually to undermine and destroy it.

For God's sake, my Lords, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings! set not these new and dangerous precedents! And I for my part will voluntarily and chearfully go into perpetual exile, and please myself with the thought that I have in some measure preserved the constitution by quitting my country: and I will live, wherever I am, praying for its prosperity, and die with the words of Father Paul in my mouth, which he used of the Republic of Venice, "*Esto perpetua!*" The way to perpetuate it is, not to depart from it.

Let

Let *me* depart ; but let *that* continue fixed on the immovable foundations of law and justice, and stand for ever.

I have, my Lords, taken up much of your time ; and yet I must still beg your attention. Some parts of my accusation have been disproved by direct and full evidence ; particularly that of my writing the *three* letters of April 20, or even knowing *who* writ them ; which I utterly deny that I ever *did*, or even now *do* know. And yet *this* is the *foundation* of the whole. *Other* parts of my charge there are, not in their nature capable of such a direct disproof, nor indeed requiring it, as being no ways supported by what deserves the name of evidence. And here therefore I was chiefly obliged to rest on the utter *improbability* of the charge ; which, I hope, has been duly manifested. But, my Lords, there is still a way left of vindicating myself in cases where a general negative cannot be otherwise cleared ; and that is, by *protesting* and *declaring* my innocence to your Lordships in the most deliberate, serious, and solemn manner, and appealing to God, the searcher of hearts, for the truth of what I say ; as I do in what follows.

I am charged, in the Report, with directing the intercepted correspondence, there ascribed to Mr. Kelly and Mr. Carte. But I solemnly declare, that I never directed or saw a single line of any one of their letters, till I met them in print; nor were the contents of any one of them ever communicated to me.

I do in like manner solemnly declare, that I never was privy to any memorial drawn up to solicit the Regent of France, or his Ministers, to send forces into England, during the elections, or at any other season: which is the *first* branch of the conspiracy charged in the Report.

Nor was I ever acquainted with the design of any attempt to be made, upon the King's going to Hanover: which is the *second*.

Nor did I ever hear of the *third*; which, it seems, was to take place upon the breaking up of the encampment, till some time after Mr. *Lyster* was committed to the Tower.

I do with the like seriousness and solemnity declare, That I never *collected, remitted, received, or asked* any money of any man, to facilitate any of these designs; nor was I ever
privy

privy to any *remittance* whatsoever to any of these purposes.

That I never transmitted or drew any declaration, manifesto, or paper whatsoever, in the name of the Pretender, as is intimated in the Report, (p. 46.) and was directly charged upon me at my *examination*.

And that I never knew of any preparations, commissions issued, any provisions here made of arms, officers, or soldiers, or of any methods taken to procure an *insurrection* in any part of these kingdoms.

All this, upon the faith of a Christian, I declare to be true, and will so declare to the last gasp of my breath: and I am very sure that, the farther your Lordships examine into the truth of these declarations, the truer you will find them. And yet they contain all the capital articles of which I am accused by the Report of the House of Commons.

Had indeed the charge been as fully proved as it is strongly asserted, it had been in vain to think of encountering *well-attested facts* by *protestations* to the contrary, though never so solemnly made. But, as that charge is enforced by slights and probabilities, and cannot be disproved in many circumstances with-

out proving a negative, your Lordships will, in such a case, allow the solemn asseverations of a man, in behalf of his own innocence, to have their due weight. And I ask no more of God than to grant them as much influence with you as they have truth in themselves.

If, after all, it shall be still thought by your Lordships, that there is any seeming strength in any of the proofs produced against me; if by *private* persuasions of my guilt, founded on unseen, unknown motives, which ought not certainly to influence *public* judgments; if by any *reasons* and *necessities* of state (of the *expedience*, *wisdom*, and *justice* of which I am no competent judge) your Lordships shall be induced to proceed on this bill, and to pass it in *any* shape; I shall dispose myself quietly and patiently to submit to what is determined. *God's will be done! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; and (whether in giving or taking) blessed be the name of the Lord!*

SER.

[181]

SERJEANT WYNNE'S
OBSERVATIONS*
ON THE CATALOGUE OF
ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.

VOL. II. P. 133.

I HAVE lately seen a passage in the above book reflecting on Serjeant Wynne, as if “ he had desired to see the speech of his right reverend client, and had, as it were, fore-stalled him, and spoke the substance of it himself;” and to make it the more remarkable, the author has given him a title, which it is well known he did not attain to till many years after. And this is asserted, not

* These Observations were written not long after the publication of the Catalogue, a friend informing the author of them that there was such a passage reflecting on him; and it was not without solicitations that he was induced to think it worth an answer; which, however, he drew up in this form, and permitted to be printed in a periodical examination of books and pamphlets. The same passage being repeated in a second edition of the Catalogue, was the occasion of re-printing these observations. WYNNE.

upon hearsay or information, but as a fact; which the reader may be apt to think lay in the author's own knowledge, or at least grounded upon the best information at the time; whereas this proceeding was thirty-six years ago, when the author had been hardly out of his nursery. In speaking of facts so long before their own knowledge, modest writers usually quote their authority, or assign some reasons for their assertions.

However, as silence may, in some cases, be construed an admission of a fact, it may be proper to say something by way of answer; though Mr. Wynne despises the calumny, and thinks a mere denial of a fact is equivalent to a mere affirmation without any proof or probability.

The passage above referred to seems to imply an uncommon memory, and some degree of judgement, in Mr. Wynne (young as he then was, though I dare say the author intended no compliments) that on the bare seeing or reading a speech which took up two hours or more in the delivery, he should be able to borrow the substance of it, and make use of it as his own; which seems highly improbable.

And

And that he should presume to do so in the presence of such a judicious client, and upon his first appearance at the bar of that honourable house, is still more improbable, and implies an uncommon assurance; a quality, that was never reckoned any part of his character; but, on the contrary, how well it was received by that honourable house, how gratefully by his reverend client, he has great reason to remember.

And whoever fairly considers the nature of the case, the different situation of a counsel from that of the person accused, if he is a judge, and judges rightly, must own, that it requires a different composition, a different expression, and a different manner of treating the subject. Many things may be proper, and not unbecoming for the one to say, either as he was a prelate and a member of that house, or as a supposed criminal, which would be highly improper, and perhaps not safe, in the other to say. The one was thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and consequently could explain, assert, or deny, with more freedom and assurance: whereas the other was a stranger to them, any other-wise than as instructed by his brief, and

ought therefore to speak with caution and care, especially on such an high and complicated charge as that was; and where Mr. Wynne was in a manner little known to, or acquainted with his client, till just before he had the honour to be assigned one of his counsel.

It is not improbable that, where any two, three, or more persons speak upon the same subject, and upon such a multitude of facts of which the charge consisted, that some of the same arguments or observations may occur to each, though without any privity or conference together. But I am apt to think, no one person, who was to prepare himself upon such an occasion, would desire to see or read the composition of another, who was to speak upon the same occasion, and perhaps on the same day, or the next, and before the same judicious audience; as it would rather tend to distract and confound him, than be of any real use, and only serve to tire his judges with unnecessary repetition.

Indeed, I have heard that the Bishop desired to know of his counsel, at one of their consultations, whether, in treating of hearsay evidence, they should mention the preamble
of

of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder; and Mr. Wynne informing his Lordship the passage had occurred to him, and in what manner he intended to apply it, the Bishop desired him to leave out what he intended upon that point, for that he should carry his reasoning upon it much further; and that it would moreover be of great service, in giving him an opportunity to sit down and repose his wearied limbs while the act was read, in which he hoped their Lordships would indulge him. Mr. Wynne accordingly left this passage entire to his Lordship; and he made all the use intended of it.

And since the sight of the book above referred to, I have heard * Mr. Wynne often declare (and I dare say, from his known probity and veracity, he would make oath, if the occasion required it) that he never did see, or desired to see, his Lordship's speech; nor ever read one line of it himself, nor ever heard one line of it read by any other person before it was spoke in the House of Lords. Nor has he to this day ever seen or read one line of it: though there is reason to believe his Lordship's speech is still in being,

* These Observations were first published anonymously.

with an introductory account of the true grounds and motives of his prosecution ; and, if they could be compared, would be found as different as could be upon the same subject.

As for his Lordship's speech, so called, printed by A. Moore, at that time, it is a spurious incorrect composition, and does not contain above half in quantity ; and, besides many nonsensical and unintelligible paragraphs, has hardly one true and correct passage throughout*. But if even that were to be compared, no other likeness would be found than what necessarily arises from a reference to the same facts, papers, and letters. And, I am sure, where it occasionally mentions his counsel, it is with all due regard, and not the least complaint of any unfair or unbecoming behaviour of them †.

And it is well known Mr. Wynne never was alone with the Bishop during his commitment ; and when sent for, was either in company with Sir Constantine Phipps, his other counsel, and with one or both his soli-

* This assertion had escaped my notice when I was printing the note in p. 105 ; of which, however, it is an ample confirmation.

† See pp. 106. 126. 131.

citors, who were assigned to assist him in his defence, and one or more of his servants; and therefore some other person must have been privy to this fact, if it were true; besides others who narrowly watched and probably overheard most things that passed in those short interviews.

And, therefore, what could induce the author to vent such a calumny upon one who is a mere stranger to him, and about a transaction thirty-six years ago, in which he acted only as counsel, without any ground or foundation, and against all probability, it is hard to conceive. But it is hoped, the author will be so ingenuous as either to retract his assertion, or assign his reasons, or explain his meaning, in any future edition of his work, or in any other way he thinks more proper.

I was going to close these Observations; but as the author has thought fit to introduce the foregoing passage in his anecdote of an unfortunate Duke*, I am apt to think he

* The passage alluded to in the Catalogue is this:
 "It is a remarkable anecdote relating to this speech,
 "that his Grace then in opposition to the Court
 "went to Chelsea the day before the last debate
 "on that prelate's affair, where, acting contrition,
 "he

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he is in that respect also mistaken or misinformed. I would not be understood to defend his levities, or want of principles (as the author calls them); but, happening to know the company his Lordship had with him almost every hour of that day before he spoke in the House of Lords, and to whom he was pleased to shew his speech ready drawn up, all in his own hand-writing, whom he pressed to peruse it, and during that conversation his

“ he professed being determined to work out his
 “ pardon at court, by speaking against the Bishop,
 “ in order to which he begged some hints. The
 “ minister was deceived, and went through the
 “ whole cause with him, pointing out where the
 “ strength of the argument lay, and where its
 “ weakness. The Duke was very thankful, re-
 “ turned to town, passed the night in drinking,
 “ and without going to bed went into the House of
 “ Lords, where he spoke for the Bishop, recapitulating, in the most masterly manner, and answering all that had been urged against him.”—
 So far the Catalogue: and then, on a supposed resemblance to this supposed fact, is grounded a note, contradicting the idle aspersions, which is the subject of the above Observations: which note runs in these words: “ Serjeant Wynne served
 “ the Bishop in much the same manner: being his
 “ counsel, he desired to see the Bishop’s speech;
 “ and then spoke the substance of it himself.”

WYNNE.

Grace

Grace altered and supplied it as he thought proper upon the spot, and I believe is the same in substance as that which soon after appeared in print; and, notwithstanding the author's insinuation, I believe I can truly add, that he hardly ever passed a day or evening more soberly than that; and happy it would have been had he passed more in the same manner*.

So

* Bishop Newton's account of this transaction has been already copied in p. 83. Dr. Mary also, in his *Life of Lord Chesterfield*, has transcribed from Mr. Walpole "a fact, of which," as he well observes, "the ingenious author had the best opportunity of being well informed;" and, enumerating the great characters in which the upper house of parliament was then fertile, says, "The unprincipled and unthinking Duke of Wharton disgraced the finest parts and best education by the bad use he made of both; and, with the capacity of a Tully, became, like Clodius, a profligate and wretched incendiary."

The various modes and times in which I have met with the several articles which form the present volumes will be a sufficient apology to the considerate reader for their arrangement. Some of the notes particularly, if I was to reprint the whole, would be differently placed: the circumstance of the Bible given to Pope, for instance, in the present volume, p. 80, had been already given in the first volume, p. 143; and Atterbury's assertion, in the beginning of p. 161, might have received some

So that this was not a sudden start upon conference that day or night with the Minister, under a feigned contrition, to draw hints from him, which he did not want; for, it is well known, his Grace had, from the beginning to the end of that long proceeding, constantly attended, and took notes, amounting at least to a quire of paper, and not only spoke on behalf of the Bishop in the run of the cause, but had signed several protests concerning those proceedings many days before. If the Minister after this was deceived, he was easily deceived, and some illustration from the notes printed in vol. I. p. 131. and in vol. II. p. 44; and both from the following anecdote, transcribed by Dr. Maty from the papers of Dr. Birch: "Lord Harcourt leaving the old ministry, provoked Atterbury's abusive tongue. He, in return, declared, that, on the Queen's death, the Bishop came to him and to Lord Bolingbroke, and said, nothing remained but to proclaim K. J. He further offered, if they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn sleeves, and head the procession."

The present Editor by no means wishes that these Extracts may obtain more credit than they deserve, when opposed to the solemn assertions of the great Prelate who is the subject of them. He must observe, however, that, if he had not produced them, the reader would have been justified in blaming him for suppressing material evidence. Let the impartial judgement of posterity determine which is right.

contrary to his known and usual sagacity, and in a manner very notorious to most others.

This does not rest merely upon my assertion (though I was present every day, and therefore no incompetent witness), but might appeal to others still alive, and to the Journals themselves, as well as to the printed protests (in folio and octavo) where his Grace's name is to be found among other noble Lords, on May 2, 1723; and on the 3d, 7th, and 11th of May. And at last, on the general question whether the bill should pass (15th of May) after he had spoke at large upon the debate, he not only protested again, for some of the reasons given by the other Lords, but added four more of his own. So that there seems to be no room to doubt but that his Lordship was all along as much prepared, fixed, and determined, upon this matter, as any one could be. Whether he was right or wrong in his judgement, I do not presume to say.

It is not improbable but he might go to the Minister at some other time, as he did once or twice dine uninvited at the Board of

Green-

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Green-cloth that was kept in the neighbourhood during that proceeding, by way of frolick or fun, or, as the author calls it, a fit of levity ; but not by way of information or instruction, or to beg hints, because he was sufficiently master of the whole proceeding, from his own notes and observations. However, he is gone, and unable to answer for himself; and therefore I thought this little was in justice due to his memory.

THE

THE DEDICATION
TO THE SECOND EDITION OF
The RIGHTS, POWERS, and PRIVILEGES, of
an ENGLISH CONVOCATION, 1701*.

To the most Reverend Fathers in God, my
Lords the Archbishops of the Provinces,
and Presidents of the Convocations, of
CANTERBURY and YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACES,

TO permit the author of these papers to
lay them before you with that humi-
lity which becomes his great distance from your
Graces' high station and character, and that
modest freedom which he is encouraged to
use by the goodness of his cause, and the con-
sciousness he has of his own integrity in
maintaining it.

When I first sent these papers abroad, I
judged that doctrines of so great weight and
importance, as those which are contained in
them, might suffer by the meanness of my

* In this book Mr. Atterbury displayed so much
learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the in-
terests of his order, that the Lower House of
Convocation returned him their thanks, "for his
endeavours to assert and vindicate the rights of
Convocation."

VOL. II,

O

name,

name, and therefore I concealed it. But since it has pleased the Divine Goodness to bless these labours of mine with a very favourable reception, not only among the Reverend my Brethren of the Clergy, and several of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, your Graces' Suffragans, but among many other good and wise men also, who are not of the function: and since, upon a careful review of what I have written, no shadow of doubt remains with me but that it is truth, and will stand; I have thought myself at liberty to act with less reserves, and to hearken to the admonition which my Lord of Sarum * has publicly given me in that behalf.

And when once I had determined to own myself the author of this work, it was natural for me to think of addressing it to your Graces, who are under his Majesty (long may you continue so!) the great patrons and guardians of the rights of the Clergy of either

* Dr. Burnet; who published "Reflections on the Rights, &c. 1700." It is remarkable that the names of Wake, Burnet, Gibson, Hoadly, and Nicolson, were amongst the antagonists of this celebrated production of Atterbury. The characters of our author, as drawn by Kennet, Wake, and Burnet, which are particularly worth perusing, are transcribed in the Biographia Britannica, p. 336, 337. where the reader will find a satisfactory account of the whole controversy.

Pro-

Province; and who have particularly enabled me to perfect this review by the free recourse you have been pleased to allow me to the Registries of your Sees. So that this is an application to which gratitude as well as duty binds me; two powerful principles of action, for the want of either of which your Graces shall never have occasion to blame me!

I have ventured upon this address the more freely, because Dr. Wake, I find, has presumed to take the same liberty, with less reason; and prefixed one of your venerable names to a book, that, as I verily apprehend, subverts the fundamental rights and liberties of the Church and Clergy of England. After which, had I, in this reply, made my application any where but to your Graces, I might justly have been thought to decline your Graces' arbitration; which, in a defence of Church-rights, drawn up by one in holy orders, had been highly indecent and unpardonable.

I do heartily therefore join with Dr. Wake, in appealing to your Graces' judgement, in the dispute that is now between us. If, in my management of it, there be any thing particular and personal which will offend your Graces, I beseech your Graces, with a pater-

nal goodness, to overlook it : but wherever the argument and merits of the cause are concerned, I implore your Graces' strictest observation.

Should it, upon balancing the evidence produced on both sides, seem to your Graces that I have misrepresented the ecclesiastical constitution, and advanced a false and illegal plea, I refuse not to submit to (what I should think my great misfortune) your Graces' displeasure. But if, on the contrary, your Graces shall find (as I doubt not but you will) that I have asserted the Rights of the Clergy, within that circle only which the Law has marked out to them ; and that I have done this, upon principles which every good Englishman must approve ; and with such a moderation and deference to the civil power as can disgust none of the temporality, but the professed enemies of religion and the order : If this, upon enquiry, shall appear to be the case, I will then humbly hope for your Graces' protection and countenance in so honourable and just a cause ; at least, that, for the sake of it, you will be pleased to pardon the presumption of this address, from,

Your Graces' most obedient, most dutiful, and most humble servant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

THE

T H E F O R M O F

R E T R A C T A T I O N,
Required from Dr. ATTERBURY,
previous to his Institution at CARLISLE;

With a Narrative of what passed on that occasion
between the DEAN and Bishop NICOLSON.

[Now first printed from the Harleian MSS. 6848. p. 181.]

WHEN Dr. Atterbury came to his Grace
of York's* at Bishopthorp, near York,
in his way to Carlisle †, he there found a form
of

* Dr. John Sharp.

† The following curious note from the Biographia Britannica, which I re-print that the reader may compare it with the present narrative, assigns a very incredible reason for the delay of institution. Bp. Nicolson, it should be recollected, was himself a writer against Dr. Atterbury.

“ Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-hastiness to get possession, he took out his instruments before his predecessor Dr. Grahme had resigned †. This mistake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he first

† Dr. Grahme was installed Dean of Wells July 28, 1704; and Dr. Atterbury did not receive institution as Dean of Carlisle till October.

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of Retraction, which the Bishop of Carlisle
required he should make before his Lordship
would

“ waited on Dr. Nicolson, then Bishop of Carlisle,
“ that Prelate demanded of him a formal resignation
“ from Dr. Grahme, without which, he told
“ him, he could not admit him. The new-ap-
“ pointed Dean seemed to laugh at this demand ;
“ but the Bishop, who resolved to shew Dr. Atter-
“ bury no favour, and barely to do him justice,
“ continuing obstinate, the Doctor, to his no small
“ mortification, was kept a whole month at Car-
“ lisle, unadmitted, and slightly regarded, till the
“ resignation, insisted on, was produced. The re-
“ signation, however, upon examination, was
“ found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being
“ almost a month subsequent to Dr. Atterbury’s
“ collation, which rendered the latter null and
“ void. Hereupon being returned to London, he
“ contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his pre-
“ decessor, to a certain place; where he desired
“ him to antedate his resignation; and, instead of
“ the 5th of August, to date it the 8th of July,
“ that so it might be reconciled to his letters pa-
“ tent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who
“ thought the proposal a very odd one, desired a
“ day’s time to consider of it; and, having advised
“ with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who
“ all assured him, the practice was both scanda-
“ lous and dangerous, he sent a civil letter to Dr.
“ Atterbury, excusing himself for not complying
“ with his request. When the Doctor found this
“ step ineffectual, he took another no less extra-
“ ordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to
“ prevail with a considerable officer in Chancery
“ to

BP. NICOLSON AND DR. ATTERBURY. 199
would give him institution to the Deanry.—
The form ran thus :

- “ 1. The Queen of England, out of Par-
“ liament, has not the same authority
“ in the causes ecclesiastical that the
“ Christian Emperors had in the primi-
“ tive Church.
- “ 2. The Church of England is under two
“ Sovereigns; the one absolute, the
“ other limited.
- “ 3. The supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction
“ annexed to the Imperial Crown of this
“ Realm can be exerted no otherwise
“ than in Parliament.

“ These three propositions, separating her
“ Majesty's authority, and impeaching her
“ legal supremacy, are erroneous, and con-

“ to alter the date of the resignation in the origi-
“ nal record. But this proposal was likewise re-
“ jected; and so the public instruments continued
“ irregular. All the reflection we shall make upon
“ this story, is, that, in the Civil Law, the clan-
“ destine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falsi*, and
“ the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falsi*.” See
a small tract, intituled, “ A Letter from the South,
“ by way of Answer to a Letter from a Northern
“ Divine; giving an Account of a strange At-
“ tempt made by Dr. Atterbury, &c.”

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“ trary to the received doctrine of the Church
“ of England, as well as the known laws of
“ the realm. And therefore (so far as any
“ of them are deducible from any thing that
“ I have heretofore asserted and published) I
“ do heartily, openly, and freely, revoke
“ and renounce the same.”

This form of retraction was sent by the Bishop to the Archbishop the day before Dr. Atterbury came to his Grace; and the Bishop desired his Grace, that if Dr. Atterbury consented not to make that retraction, he would stop him there, and give him institution by his metropolitick authority. That could not be done without a signification of his desire under the episcopal seal (if it could be done at all); which, therefore, the Archbishop and Dean wrote for. Seven days after the Dean came to the Archbishop's, he received the Bishop's answer, that he would give a commission under his seal to nobody, for doing any thing which he would not and could not do himself; and therefore the Doctor must come to him. The Dean set out accordingly as soon as was possible. When he came to Rose, the Bishop's seat, the Bishop produced the

the three propositions ; and required the Dean that he would retract them : but, upon the Dean asking his Lordship whether he insisted on it ; he said, No. And the Dean afterwards found that the Archbishop's opinion had prevailed with the Bishop to withdraw them ; his Grace having freely and fully told him, in more letters than one, that the first was a true proposition, and the other two not to be found in Dr. Atterbury's book according to that sense and turn which the Bishop had given them. But the Bishop had prepared another paper ; and that he produced before the Canons of the Church then called together, and required the Dean to subscribe it. That paper was in this form :

“ The Church of England is under the
 “ Government both of the absolute and
 “ limited Sovereign ; under the govern-
 “ ment of the limited Sovereign, within
 “ the compass of his prerogative ; under
 “ the government of the absolute Sove-
 “ reign, without any restraints or bounds,
 “ except what the revealed will of God
 “ and the eternal rules of right reason
 “ prescribe. The Pope usurped, not
 “ only

“only on the King, the limited; but on
 “the King and Parliament, the abso-
 “lute Sovereign; and what was to be
 “taken from Him, therefore, was not all
 “to be thrown into the Prerogative, but
 “restored severally to its respective
 “owners*.”

“I do hereby openly and freely revoke
 “and renounce whatever in this para-
 “graph may reasonably seem to impeach
 “her Majesty’s regal supremacy, in-
 “herent in her royal person, or any
 “ways necessary to infer a co-ordina-
 “tion with her in the Sovereignty of
 “this realm.”

The Dean told the Bishop, that what he
 proposed to him was a matter of consequence
 and importance, and desired a little time to
 retire and consider of it; which was allowed
 him, with pen, ink, and paper. About half
 an hour after, the Dean returned with the
 following answer: “Your Lordship demands
 “of me, that, in order to my institution to
 “the Deanry of Carlisle, I should make the

* Vide Rights and Powers, &c. 2d edition,
 p. 214.

“ preceding retractation. In answer to your
“ Lordship’s demand, I humbly reply,

“ 1. I offer to qualify myself for institution,
“ by taking all those oaths, and making
“ all those subscriptions or declarations,
“ which are required by any law or
“ canon of the real Church of England.

“ 2. That, in the passage cited by your Lord-
“ ship, I do not, after a very deliberate
“ consideration of it, find any thing
“ asserted, upon which a fair and candid
“ construction of the words *can reason-*
“ *ably seem to impeach her Majesty’s regal*
“ *supremacy inherent in her Royal person,*
“ *or any way necessarily to infer a co-ordi-*
“ *nation with her in the Sovereignty of*
“ *this realm.*

“ 3. No man living can be more ready than
“ I am to assert her Majesty’s supremacy,
“ in the utmost legal extent of it, upon
“ all proper occasions, or to retract any
“ thing that may have casually fallen
“ from my pen, and may in the least seem
“ to be derogatory to it. But to do this in
“ order to obtain possession of the Dean-

“ ry

“ ry of Carlisle, which her Majesty has
 “ granted me under the broad seal of
 “ England, and after a manner no ways
 “ that I know of prescribed either by
 “ the canons or laws of Church or State,
 “ would, I apprehend, on my side, be
 “ rather injurious than respectful to
 “ her Majesty’s regal supremacy and pre-
 “ rogative, inasmuch as it tends to in-
 “ troduce and establish new tests and
 “ qualifications unknown to our consti-
 “ tution, and which may in future
 “ times be required of all those who
 “ shall have like grants from the Crown
 “ of this or any other Deanry. And
 “ therefore the surest mark of my re-
 “ gard for the Queen’s regal supremacy
 “ will, I presume, be humbly, as I now
 “ do, to desire your Lordship, that you
 “ would, in virtue of her Majesty’s
 “ letters patents now tendered to your
 “ Lordship, grant me institution to the
 “ Deanry of Carlisle without delay, and
 “ without insisting on any such retracta-
 “ tion. Provided always your Lordship
 “ have full and sufficient right to grant
 “ such institution to me, of which I can-
 “ not

“not be supposed a competent judge,
“and which exception I desire may be
“understood and included in every thing
“that I have done or said towards de-
“siring institution from your Lordship.
“And I humbly pray, that the Nota-
“ries now present draw up in form
“a notarial act of this your Lordship’s
“demand, and my humble reply,

“FR. ATTERBURY.

“Rose-Castle, Sept. 15, 1704.

“*Test.* JOH. NICOLON, *Not. Pub.*

“G. LONGSTAFFE, *Not. Pub.*”

Upon the Dean’s reading this reply to the Bishop, his Lordship was in great confusion; pressed the Dean to converse the matter with him, and to clear up his doubts. The Dean refused to say a syllable farther upon that head than what he had set down in writing. Then the Bishop rose up in a heat, fetched down the canons, and said, “He would institute him step by step, according to the form there prescribed;” and first demanded his orders and letters testimonial. The Dean told him, “he had neither;” but said, that
“he

"he thought the Dignities in the Church to
 "which he had been collated (particularly
 "the Archdeaconry of Totness) were suf-
 "ficient vouchers for his being in orders *."
 The Bishop answered, "How do I know you
 "are Archdeacon of Totness?" The Dean
 replied, "Just as I know your Lordship to
 "be Bishop of Carlisle." "Well," said the
 Bishop, "now I must examine you." Then
 he paused a while, and added, "But perhaps
 "this would be too great an affront to you!"
 "As many affronts as your Lordship pleases,"
 said the Dean: "I hope I am prepared to
 "bear them."

* In consequence of the vote of convocation
 mentioned in p. 193, a letter had been sent to the
 University of Oxford, expressing, that, "whereas
 "Mr. Francis Atterbury, late of Christ-Church,
 "had so happily asserted the rights and privileges
 "of an English Convocation, as to merit the so-
 "lemn thanks of the Lower House of it for his
 "learned pains upon that subject; it might be
 "hoped, that the University would be no less for-
 "ward in taking some public notice of so great
 "a service to the Church: and that the most pro-
 "per and seasonable mark of respect to him would
 "be, to confer on him the degree of Doctor in
 "Divinity by diploma, without doing exercise
 "or paying fees." The University approved the
 contents of this letter, and accordingly created
 Mr. Atterbury Doctor in Divinity.

At

At last, the Bishop went aside, and produced a paper in his Register's hands; which was this:

" Sept. 15, 1704.

" Having this day received her Majesty's
" letters patents under the great seal of
" England, nominating Dr. Francis Atter-
" bury to the vacant Deanry of Carlisle; and
" being for the present under such doubts
" and difficulties in matters of law and con-
" science, that I cannot immediately institute
" the said Dr. Atterbury; I do hereby ap-
" point Thursday the 12th of October next
" for the making such a dutiful return to
" her Majesty's letters patents as counsel in
" the law shall direct or advise.

" This paper was read; and Dr. Atterbury
" had notice given to attend the Bishop
" at Rose the 12th of October next, be-
" tween nine and ten in the forenoon,
" in the presence of

" J. N. P. N.

" G. L. P. N."

The Dean urged " the hardship of this de-
" lay, which would hinder him from attend-
" ing the Queen that month as Chaplain,
" and probably from preaching the Lord Al-
" moner's

208 NARRATIVE OF WHAT PASSED, &c.

“moner’s turn on Nov. 15, which he had
“undertaken at his Grace’s desire; besides
“that his Lordship had, by his letter to the
“Archbishop of York, detained the Dean
“from offering his letters patents eight days,
“and ought not therefore to take the advan-
“tage of them.”

The Bishop was pleased at last to say, that
“he would write up to London; and if he
“found that he could not justify denying
“institution upon the grounds he had gone,
“he would, as soon as his answer came,
“immediately do it, without expecting his
“attendance till October the 12th.” He
added, “he would not insist upon producing
“testimonial Letters or Orders.” So they
parted without incivility; and the Dean
went to Carlisle, where he expects the
event*.

* He was installed in the month of October.

FOUR
VISITATION CHARGES,

By Bishop ATTERBURY.

Never before printed.

VOL. II.

P

WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE

AT TERNBURY

I. SPEECH of DR. ATTERBURY to the Clergy
of the Archdeaconry of Totness, 1702.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

WHEN, by the goodness of God, and the bounty of our Right Reverend Diocesan * (a name never to be mentioned by me, or by any true son of the Church of England, but with the utmost marks of respect and honour), I was placed in this station †; there was nothing I more earnestly desired than to take the earliest opportunity of coming down hither, and of discharging, to the best of my ability, that sacred trust which he had been pleased to repose in me.

At the time I should have compleated these intentions a Convocation was sitting, which met the last year, after a long intermission of such assemblies. Among the many other ill consequences of that intermission, this was one, that the knowledge of the forms and methods of proceeding was little understood, and could not easily or soon be retrieved from

* Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart. Bishop of Exeter 1689—1707; and of Winchester, 1707—1721.

† He was installed Archdeacon Jan. 29, 1700.

those poor remains of the Journals of either House, which were left unconsumed by the great fire of London. This want of light occasioned some mistaken claims and practices, which were inconsistent with the privileges of the Lower House, that is, of all the inferior Clergy of this province, who are there represented and concluded, and laid the members of it under an unhappy necessity, either of giving up those rights, or of contending with their superiors in behalf of them; the most unpleasing task that could befall an English Episcopal Clergy; of which there was never before any one instance in *story*; as it is the hope and prayer of all good men, that, after this difference is quieted, there may never be another.

During these disputes, the strict attendance of the members was judged requisite; especially of such of them as had happened in any measure to turn their thoughts towards those studies and enquiries which were useful at that juncture: and it was reckoned that, as things then stood, the public might receive greater advantage from their services in that way than in any other. I, in particular, presumed, that my Reverend Brethren of this district, who were known to
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be so heartily and unanimously concerned for the true interests of the Church, would think me better employed in promoting those ends above, than in a personal attendance on my duty here below ; the discharge of which I shall, by the blessing of God, never decline, but for such reasons as will easily justify me with every man that knows them. My *distance*, I am sure, shall never be my excuse ; which ought indeed to have hindered me from undertaking a charge, had I foreseen that it would have made me incapable at any time of executing it, but can never justify my omitting to execute what I have once undertaken.

What were the heads of our dispute at that time, how it was managed, and what issue it had, is a subject to which I suppose none here present are strangers. Nor do I desire to revive the memory of these things, but had much rather, if it so pleased God, that they were from henceforth buried altogether in silence ; and that no future occasion may be given by those in whose power it was to have prevented the dispute at first, either for us to remember them, or to put others in mind of them.

Under this hope we came together once again, at the last Convocation, with sincere inclinations to peace on the side of the Lower House, which they manifested in two remarkable instances.

First, though they were under the fullest convictions of their right of adjourning themselves to any intermediate time, and of sitting and acting during the intervals of the Upper House adjournments; yet, knowing that the *actual exercise* of this right would be an occasion of keeping up the disputes which had hitherto interrupted the correspondence with my Lords the Bishops, they chose totally to forbear it, and contented themselves to meet always precisely at the same day and hour when the Upper House met; and when they had continued so to do for some time, they at last appointed a committee to consider of a method of accommodating and laying asleep for the future all disputes about the chief point then contested between them and their superiors. That this committee might answer its design, they took care that it should consist of such persons as were known to be of different sentiments on that head, and that a full half of the members composing it should

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be of the number of those who had hitherto declared themselves unsatisfied with the claims made by the rest of their Brethren. This committee had the desired success; and did entirely, without the least doubt or disagreement, fall into such resolutions as were by all of them judged effectual towards healing the present unhappy breach, and opening again the correspondence between the two houses.

How this expedient failed afterwards of taking place, by the death of the Prolocutor happening just upon the close of it, by a new dispute started on that occasion, and by the consequent dismissal of the synod, is now needless, and perhaps improper to repeat, because it cannot be done without some seeming reflection on those who laid hold of this *incident*, in order once more to perplex affairs, and hinder the Convocation from proceeding on business. And since there is still hope that a new meeting with the next Parliament may adjust all differences, it will become us rather respectfully to cover them for the present, than to say any thing that may keep them alive and widen them. Nor would I have mentioned the former particu-

lars, but in order to shew that the Lower House were sincerely desirous of such an union and good understanding, as we all know to be absolutely requisite towards retrieving the honour and advantages of an English Synod, and making it useful to all the great purposes of Religion for which it is designed. But thus much I must be allowed to say, that if it hath not as yet reached that end, and answered the expectations of all good and wise men in that particular, the fault was not in the inferior Clergy, who took every step towards an accommodation that it was possible for them to take, without giving up the Rights and very Being of their house, and rendering such assemblies, and their acting, altogether precarious.

Nor let it be thought that the point contended for by them was too little and insignificant to justify so long and zealous a dispute: for whatever it may, upon the first view, seem; it will, upon further consideration, be found to be an article of the utmost importance, and worth all that struggle which was employed in it; since, without securing the right of the Lower House to judge of the times proper for its own sitting and acting,

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it will be impossible to secure any of their other legal Rights and Privileges at such junctures when the administration of ecclesiastical affairs shall hereafter happen to fall into hands that may allow themselves to be made instruments of suppressing Synods, and of serving the ill design of those who are the restless enemies of this Established Church and Constitution.

God be thanked, these are now dangers at a distance, while we have a Gracious Queen on the throne, who we are sure will be so far from doing any harm to the Church, that she will not, in her time, suffer any to be done to it. But as distant as these dangers are, they may one day come; and when they do, there is no fence against them, but from the inherent power of the Lower House to appoint the times of its own sitting and rising. And therefore, were the preservation of this single right the only point gained in the late meetings of the Clergy, yet posterity will say, that even on this account neither their zeal nor time was ill employed.

But it is well known, that they had other designs in view, beside this of securing their Preliminary Rights; and particularly made

attempts towards procuring a redress of several grievances which lay upon the Clergy of this Province, and towards preserving the doctrine of the Church, contained in the XXXIX Articles, free from corrupt glosses and false *expositions*; in which if they succeeded not altogether according to their desire, yet is not the want of that success to be attributed to them, who took all the steps that were proper to obtain it; and would have made themselves useful in that way which may be thought to have best become their function and character, if their applications had been as favourably received as the importance and justice of them seemed to require.

In one thing they were fully justified by a late event, as to the reasonableness of what they offered for reviving the too long disused execution of the Bishop's Parliamentary Writ on the Diocesan Clergy concerned in it. Which practice, had it been kept up in every diocese of the kingdom, as it was in *this* and some others, had prevented the late dissolution of the Synod, and given the Clergy a title to a parliamentary attendance upon the foot of the late statute, notwithstanding the death of his Majesty, by which that meeting alone de-
 terminated

terminated, which was called and held by the King's provincial writ to the Archbishop. Nor had we now seen such a new thing as our Constitution before was utterly a stranger to, the instance of a Parliament sitting, without a concurrent Convocation of the Clergy.

The sudden dismissal and dissolution of this last Synod gave me no liberty of being present here, but what I was before fully determined to have taken had it continued to sit: for by the enquiries that had been made on the heads debated, the Lower House were now so fully apprised of their rights, and of the methods of asserting them, that the assistance of no one member could be missed. But it so happened, that, at the moment when I was setting out for these parts, I received commands for attending a great solemnity*, which I could not disobey. This, with some other accidents, which it was not easy for me at that distance, and in the entrance on my office, to foresee and prevent, occasioned some uncertainty in the notice given of the times of visitation, and I fear laid my Reverend Brethren of the Clergy under some inconveniences; for which I think myself

* Either the royal funeral or coronation.

obliged

obliged to make my public excuse to them; and to assure them, that, in succeeding years, such uncertainties shall be remedied.

I come hither, at present a stranger, in order to acquaint myself with the posture of affairs in this district, as far as the jurisdiction committed to me is concerned, and to get such a sure and full insight into them, as may enable me hereafter to return hither better qualified to do that little good, which the great discouragements that of late years have been laid on these courts, and the neglects by that means occasioned in the exercise of the powers belonging to them, will suffer to be done. And I have foreborn therefore to entertain you with any discourse relating either to my own duty, or that of other men; reserving such addresses to a time when I shall be more fully instructed in the matter of them, and better prepared by experience to offer some thoughts to you, which may, with your help, be of common advantage to us.

In the mean time, I make it my earnest request to this Reverend Auditory, to afford me the best light and assistance they can in this case, and to inform me of all such faults
and

and defects as they may have observed in the administration of the spiritual jurisdiction, and of their thoughts about the most proper ways and means of amending them. They cannot do me a more kind and welcome office than by imparting such observations, which I shall always gratefully acknowledge and improve according to the best of my skill and ability.

I have one thing at present to offer to you, by the particular command of my Lord Bishop, that *you* would, *together with the Churchwardens*, subscribe the *Registers* now delivered in by them, as the 70th Canon expressly directs; and I have a further request to add to this, that you would also sign their Presentments, which, though good and valid when made separately either by the Churchwardens or by the Minister alone, yet seem better to answer the intentions and expressions of the 118th Canon, when *exhibited jointly* by both of them; and I am sure are, when so subscribed, more likely to reach the ends for which they are intended, and to satisfy me that they are as compleat and full, in all respects, as they ought to be: without which be done, the design of these Visitations is lost.

II. SPEECH of Dr. ATTERBURY to the
Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totness.
1703.

THE last time we met, I gave you some account of the unhappy dispute then depending between the two Houses of Convocation ; and I hoped, by this time, to have been able to tell you that it was ended, and had given way to business of a more public nature and influence, in which the world justly expects, and all who wish well to Religion and the Church heartily desire, that such assemblies may be ever employed. But (with great concern I speak it) those wounds are still unclosed ; and by that means the designs which many good men had of rendering Synods useful and venerable, and of restoring the life and power as well as the form of them, hath been hitherto defeated. I delight not to dwell on so melancholy a subject. However, I think it a debt due to the Lower Clergy of this Province briefly to inform you what steps were taken, and proposals made by them towards accommodating matters.

matters with their superiors: by which, however unsuccessful, you will see that they have effectually removed the present blame of this division from their own doors, and shewed themselves as desirous of peace, if upon any reasonable terms it might be had, as they were of securing their just rights and privileges when invaded. The subject is no ways foreign to the design of these meetings; for if ever this, or any other inferior Ecclesiastical Court, regain its due strength and authority, it must be by a proper influence and countenance derived from the Supreme Church Tribunal, a Convocation: together with which, all lesser jurisdictions, the use of them, and reverence for them, must always sink or rise, prosper or decay.

This desire of theirs they manifested when, in the very entrance of the last Convocation, they made the following humble application to their Lordships, which I crave leave to repeat to you in the very terms wherein it was delivered.

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This application was so reasonable, decent, and dutiful, that it could not but produce some advances on the side of their Lordships; who therefore some time afterwards made the two following proposals.

That the Lower House might *meet* in committees, to *prepare* business *between* the synodical Prorogations.

That *when* business *should be* before the Convocation, the Archbishop *would* so order the prorogations, that sufficient time *should be allowed* for the considering and finishing it.

The Clergy saw that, upon the foot of these proposals, their *acting* and very *being* would be entirely precarious, and that a compliance with them would be so far from bringing the dispute to a *final determination* (as they expressly desired), that it would not lay it asleep for one moment longer than the business they entered upon should be grateful to their superiors, in whose power it was left to suffer them to act, or not to act, as an House, as they should see occasion.

They therefore once more earnestly besought their Lordships, that they would please to suggest *such* a method of accommodating this difference, as would *totally silence* it for
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the future, and put it out of the *power* of *either* house to *interrupt* the business of Convocation, by reviving any disputes about the forms and rules of proceeding.

Their Lordships *wholly* declined this proposal; and, instead of offering any thing suitable to it, transmitted to the Lower House a paper containing the *reasons* of their claim (reasons which they had often before urged, and which had as often been answered), and of the *necessity* they were under of insisting upon it.

The Lower House now thought it high *time* to *make* some proposal of this kind, since they were not likely to *receive* any, and did therefore *lay* before their Lordships the *following* request; the *recital* of which will not, I hope, be tedious to you.

[* * * * *]

This last desire of theirs was no more listened to than any of the former; they were only *once* again told, that the Upper House had an *unquestioned* right to what they claimed, *could* not depart from it, nor submit it to *any* arbitration whatsoever.

There was therefore nothing left for the Clergy, but either to *fit down contented* with the *loss* of their rights, and with the *suspension* of all *synodical* business; or to make a separate application to the Queen, praying her royal interposition and judgement in the matters depending. They did so; but, before this petition could be offered, the session of parliament was far spent; and the great affairs of the kingdom then under agitation, and the utter averſeness of my Lord Bishops to submit to this or any umpirage, hindered it from taking effect for the present, so that the distance between the *two* Houses continues still as wide as ever.

I have recounted to you, Reverend Brethren, all the steps taken by your representatives in this whole affair, that you may the better judge what ground there is for those calumnies with which they have been liberally loaded; as if they had designed to obstruct any accommodation, or had not done every thing which it was possible for them to do in order to promote it; as if their conduct were attended with circumstances of disrespect to my Lords the Bishops, or they had made use of this last method of recourse
to

to the Throne before they had tried all others, and utterly despaired of succeeding by them.

You will, I doubt not, justify them to yourselves in all these respects ; and I dare say the worthy persons who represented this particular diocese, have acted with as full an approbation from you in this Synod, as they did in any of the former ; and would find, on that account, that your confidence in them was no ways lessened, if a new choice should give you a new occasion of expressing it.

The men who take pleasure in traducing their brethren have endeavoured to expose those of them who appeared steady in this cause, under the invidious name of *High Churchmen*. What they mean by that word, I cannot tell. But if an *High Churchman* be one who is for keeping up the present ecclesiastical constitution in all its parts, without making any *illegal* abatements in favour of such as either openly oppose or secretly undermine it ; one, who though he lives peaceably with all men of different persuasions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of lenity and kindness, yet is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the Establishment (even while it stands fixed by a

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law)

law) in order to meet them half-way in their opinions and practices ; one, who thinks the Canons and Rubrick of the Church, and the acts of parliament made in favour of it, ought strictly to be observed and kept up to, till they shall, upon a prospect of a thorough compliance from those without (if such a case may be supposed), be released, in any respect, by a competent authority : I say, if this be the character of an *High Churchman* (how odious a sound soever that name may carry), I see no reason why any man should be displeased with the title, because such an *High Churchman* is certainly a good *Christian*, and a good *Englishman*.

But, to see the inconsistency of these men in their reproaches ! at the same time that they have represented many of their Brethren as too stiffly addicted to the rules and principles of this Church, they have ventured to asperse them also as no friends to the sacred order of Bishops, which is the corner-stone and pillar of our Church-fabrick ; and without a due regard for which it is impossible that *Presbyters* here in England should be *High Churchmen*, or indeed any Churchmen at all.

GOD

God forgive them who have coined and applied these opprobrious distinctions, and endeavoured to make others believe what, without breach of charity we may, say they never believed themselves. It would be just as gross and senseless a calumny, should any man pretend to blast the Clergy of this diocese as any ways disaffected or undutiful to the Right Reverend Diocesan, towards whom all the world knows that they bear so profound a respect and honour, as can be equalled by nothing but his Lordship's paternal care and love of them, his zeal for their interests and service. Give me leave, by the way, to say that, of which he hath given one late and convincing instance, by moving the Crown for a release of the arrears of tenths and first fruits upon all livings under £. 30. a year, in the Queen's books, in this and all other dioceses; and what he has thus moved for, he hath been so happy as to obtain *.

And yet so far was this absurd slander carried, that the Lower House were reduced to a necessity of justifying themselves under their hands, by declaring their opinion of the

* The same indulgence was afterwards granted to the clergy of Ireland, at the intercession of Dr. Swift.

divine right of Episcopacy, and beseeching their Lordships' concurrence in that declaration, which nevertheless they could not obtain.

Under these difficulties and disappointments it is no wonder if the Clergy should have been utterly disheartened from proceeding on any synodical business, which nevertheless they attempted on several heads; but, receiving no encouragement from those who should have given life to their endeavours, desisted from their attempts, and resolved to wait another (and, we hope, a more favourable) opportunity.

In the mean time, the more obstructions we find towards exerting the *synodical* power of the Church, the more reason we have to make *inferior* jurisdictions useful; and to do all that we can, in our several places and stations, to preserve the poor remains of Church-discipline we enjoy in their due life and vigour, since we are not *as yet* likely either to retrieve what is lost, or enforce what is left by new sanctions; a work which deserves the best wishes and assistances of every man who has a regard for the interest of Religion, and for the honour and authority of the Church of England.

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As to this particular district, which it has fallen to my lot to take care of, I have resolved, by God's blessing, to make it as useful to the purposes for which it is intended, as it is possible for me, at the distance I am from it at present, to do. To that end I thought it requisite to place the administration of it in a single hand, whose integrity and care I had good reason to confide in, and who, by riding the customary circuits, might be an eye-witness of every thing that happened in them, and suffer no act, which bore the seal and authority of this court, to be sped, any where throughout the Archdeaconry, but in his presence only. Some abuses I have already redressed by this and other means; and shall, God willing, take care to rectify others as fast as they come to my knowledge, and I can find out due remedies for them. My Brethren of the Archdeaconry have, I thank them, been some of them assistant to me in this matter, by laying such accounts of things before me as were very instructive and seasonable. I have made, and shall continue to make, a proper use of them; and I hope that they also will still continue

the like good offices till they find (as I dare say they never will find) that such applications are either unwelcome to me, or neglected afterwards by me. For the sincere desire of my heart is, to root up all corrupt practices of all kinds, though they have never so long and generally obtained, which may injure the credit of the jurisdiction, and by that means hinder the use and influence of it.

I shall add only a repetition of that request which I have once already made to you (not without direction from our Right Reverend and Honoured Diocesan), that the ministers would assist the several Churchwardens and Sidesmen in their Presentments, and join in *signing* them; in which, though by the expressions occurring in *some* Canons they may seem to be left at large, yet by what is to be met with elsewhere (particularly in the 113th, 115th, and 118th Canons) I think it very apparent that their assistance in that case may, by the orders of the Church, be always justly expected from them. Sure I am, that without their helping hand the Presentments will be always lame and ineffectual.

I am ordered, by my Lord Bishop, to lay before you a Petition from the minister and inhabitants of *Bratton-Fleming*, in relation to the re-building of their church. You will presently hear the contents of it; and are the best judges what it may be proper for any of you to do on that occasion.

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 Y present design is, to speak to you concerning that very ancient and useful office of Dean Rector; an office which hath formerly contributed much to support and enlive the discipline of the Church, and might be of great use still, if the powers heretofore annexed to it were duly revised and executed. However, even upon the foot of new heads, especially in this diocese, it is of great service, when discharged with a conscientious care and industry. And therefore may it be, that some very desirable should happen in the manner of choosing such officers, or any neglect in carrying those powers, which do still, both by law and custom, belong to them; because each of these hath a natural tendency towards seeking the other lower than it is already sunk and sinking. III.

III. SPEECH of Dr. ATTERBURY to the
Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totness.
1708.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

MY present design is, to speak to you concerning that very antient and useful office of *Dean Rural*; an office which hath formerly contributed much to support and enliven the discipline of the Church, and might be of equal use still, if the powers heretofore annexed to it were duly revived and executed. However, even upon the foot it now stands, especially in this diocese, it is of great service, when discharged with a conscientious care and fidelity. And therefore pity it is, that either any disorder should happen in the manner of choosing such officers, or any neglect in exerting those powers, which do still, both by law and custom, belong to them; because each of these hath a manifest tendency towards sinking the office yet lower than it is already sunk, and bringing it at last altogether into disrepute and disuse;

use; which it shall be my business to whom it immediately belongs, as I doubt not but it will be the endeavour of our common Superior (with whom God has blessed us), by all proper and effectual methods to prevent.

Permit me therefore, Brethren, to discourse to you in such measure as the time will allow of, concerning the name and title, the antiquity, nature, and extent of this office; to say somewhat also of the powers and rights which belonged to it formerly, but have since been lost by misuse; and somewhat also of the present powers with which it is invested, and of the great reason there is to preserve and employ them.

The office is very antient, though not under the present appellation of *Dean Rural*, but that of *Archipresbyter*, of which there were two sorts, the *Urban* and *Rural*. The *Urban Archipresbyter* was originally the same with him whom we now call the *Dean of the Cathedral Church*; the *Rural Archipresbyter* was he whom we now style the *Rural Dean*, who, according to the opinion of Duarenus and Sir Henry Spelman (authorities that we may safely follow), succeeded in the room of the *Chorepiscopi*, upon the abolition of that office
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in this Western part of Christendom. This sort of officer, if the text of the Canon Law compiled by Gratian might be relied on, was older than the Council of Agatha, celebrated in 506, a Canon of which is there cited, commanding that, at the solemn reconciliation of penitents, *ad sint Decani*, i. e. *Archipresbyteri Parochiarum*, who were to have the care of examining into their offences, and prescribing penances. But nothing of this kind is to be found in any of the Canons of that Council now remaining. *Gratian* transcribed this mistake from *Burchard*, who went before him in the same attempt: and *Burchard* flourishing but about 700 years ago, it cannot be judged how much antienter than him the *Archipresbyters* mentioned in this Canon were.

The first clear account we have of these officers (as distinguished from the Urban Archipresbyters, or Cathedral Deans, in the tomes of the Councils) is, I think, A. D. 850, when they were established by a Canon of the Council of Pavia in Italy; the words of which are these:

“ Propter assiduam erga populum Dei curam singulis plebibus Archipresbyteros præ-
 “ esse

“esse volumus, qui non solum imperiti vulgi
 “solicitudinem gerant, verum etiam eorum
 “Presbyterorum qui per minores titulos ha-
 “bitant vitam jugi circumspeditione custodiant,
 “& quâ unusquisque industriâ divinum opus
 “exerceat Episcopo suo renuntiet, &c.”

This Canon was recited afterwards in *terminis*, and confirmed, by a Council at Rome in the year 904. So far is it from truth, what a late author*, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, hath affirmed, that this institution was peculiar to *Germany, Gaul, Great Britain*, and the *Northern Parts of Europe*; but altogether unknown to *Italy*, till the time of Cardinal *Borromeo*. The ground of that error was, a false notion entertained by him, that the *Dean Rural* in the Church answered to the *Tithing Man* in the State, and had the same *extent of jurisdiction* (so he speaks); which led him to imagine, that that portion of a Bishoprick which we call a *Rural Deanry* was to be found in no countries but where the like civil distribution into *tithings* prevailed. I need oppose nothing to this opinion beyond the authority of Sir H. Spelman in that part of his *Glossary* which he himself printed; where he tells us, that the *Rural*

* Dr. Kennet.

Deanry answered (not to the secular tithing, but rather and more nearly) to the county hundred.

“*Decanatus dicitur de portione episcopatus, centuriæ seu hundredo comitatus respondenti, & decano olim suppositâ.*” *Glossar. in vocè Decanatus*, p. 166.

That there were *Rural Deans* here in the Saxon times I doubt not, though the histories and ecclesiastical monuments of those ages, now preserved, are silent concerning them. The only instance of this kind produced (p. 633.) by the writer just now mentioned, is no sure proof of it; being taken from that part of Edward the Confessor's Laws which is not looked upon as genuine, but thought to be added to them by Henry I. who restored and enforced them.

Not long after the Reign of Henry I. these officers are mentioned in the great Lateran Council, held A. D. 1179, under the title of *Decani constituti sub Archidiaconis*; and rules are prescribed for lessening the expences that attend their visitations. From that time our English Ecclesiastical Laws take frequent notice of them. The true reasons of the first rise and institution of this office were, the great

great extent of dioceses and archdeaconries, and the necessity which Bishops were under of attending not only at Ecclesiastical Synods, but all Great Councils of State; and the share they had (especially after the time of Charles the Great) in the management of public offices and affairs. This occasioned a delegation of all their jurisdiction to some officers, and of some parts of it to others erected for this purpose; from whom they preserved a right of Appeal. As to the particular erection of *Deans Rural*, I cannot better account for it than in the excellent words of Roverius, a French author of note.

“Cum ad Presbyteros rure degentes extendere se continuo non posset Episcoporum aut Archidiaconorum vigilantia, collocati fuere per intervalla in quibusdam quasi excubiis Presbyterorum aliqui, Decani vel Archipresbyteri vocitati, ut cæterorum Presbyterorum & Plebis moribus, vice Episcopi aut Archidiaconi, invigilarent.”

What Roverius says of their officiating in France “vice Episcopi aut Archidiaconi,” is confirmed as to England, by *Lynwood*, in various parts of his Provincial. In one place he calls them “Vicarii Episcoporum quam Archidiaconorum.”

“chidiaconorum.” In a third, he says that they are *Decani Temporales ad aliquod ministerium sub Episcopo vel Archidiacono exercendum constituti*. In a fourth, he thus describes them: *Sunt personæ habentes quædam officia communiter spectantia ad Episcopum vel Archidiaconum: et ideo communiter eorum receptio & amotio pertinet ad utrumque*. And there is a remarkable passage in his comment, where he enquires, whether the Deans of the Archbishop's Peculiars (as Shoreham, Croydon, &c.) can by custom have cognizance of *matrimonial causes*. To which he answers, they may; and gives this reason for it, because those Deans have Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, being subject to the Archbishop alone, who deposes them, *cum tamen cæteri Decani Rurales etiam (ut communiter) subsint Archidiaconis*. And to the same purpose speaks Atho's Glossary on the Legatine Constitutions of Otho. *Tam præfici debent Decani Rurales quam etiam amoveri per Episcopum & Archidiaconum simul de jure*; he adds indeed *salvâ consuetudine locorum*, because, in some places, the mandate for the choice of *Deans Rural* doth, by the Bishop's grant, proceed from the Archdeacon alone, as in the diocese of Canterbury. In others

others from the Bishop and Archdeacon jointly; *i. e.* from the Bishop through the Archdeacon, as in this diocese. And from all these authorities that skilful and accurate Civilian Dr. Cowell collected this definition of a Dean Rural, which he gives in his "Interpreter," and is transcribed by Godolphin into his "Repertorium."

"A person having ecclesiastical jurisdiction over other ministers and parishes near adjoining, assigned unto him by the Bishop and Archdeacon, being placed and displaced by them." He means, by their authority, but at the instance, nomination, and election, of the Clergy. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that a Canon in 1571 (the only Canon of our Church which, since the Reformation, mentions *Deans Rural*) joins the Archdeacon with the Bishop in the steps that are to be taken towards choosing them. I forbear to recite the words here, because I foresee I shall have occasion to use them towards the close of this paper.

How and when the Archdeacon came into a fixed share of authority in this matter, appears from a rescript of Innocent III. in the year 1214, inserted into the body of the

Canon Law. *Archipresbyteri* (says he) *qui a pluribus Decani nuncupantur, Archidiaconi jurisdictioni se noverint subicere.* And in

answer to an enquiry then made of him, *Utrum Decani Rurales qui pro tempore statuuntur ad mandatum Episcopi solum vel Archidiaconi, vel etiam utriusque institui debeant vel destitui, si fuerint amovendi:* His determi-

nation there is, "*Ad hoc breviter respondemus*

"quod cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit

"approbari debeat, & cum eorum" (*i. e.* of

the Bishop and Archdeacon) "*Decanus of-*

"ficium exerceat, communiter est etiam eli-

"gendus vel deponendus." Ever since this

rescript, the Archdeacon's authority hath in-

tervened, together with that of the Bishop,

towards appointing *Deans Rural*, except

where by grant, composition, or custom im-

memorial, things have been otherwise or-

dered; as the case is in the diocese of Can-

terbury, where, thirteen years after the date

of this rescript, Stephen Langton, the Arch-

bishop, granted to his Archdeacon the insti-

tution and destitution of *Deans Rural*; and

for this remarkable reason:

"Cum absurdum sit ut alius eos constituat

"quam is, qui eis debeat præesse, & cui re-

"spondere

“ spondere tenentur; præsertim cum ipsis
[Decanis nempe] referentibus, corrigere
“ debent [Archidiaconi] cæterorum errata.”

This grant was two years afterwards confirmed by Archbishop Wethershed; but with the addition of the clause, “ præhabito con-
“ filio nostro.” Both the instruments are printed at large by the industrious and judicious Mr. Somner.

The office of *Dean Rural*, at and before this time, was to inspect the manners both of Clergy and Laity within his district, but chiefly of the former; and if any of these laboured under any evil fame, to call them before him; and to correct lesser excesses as *in foro pœnitentiali* for the most part, rather than *judicially*; the Rural Deans being the *Confessores nati* of the clergy under them, till the monks, about King John's time, began to wrest the authority out of their hands.

His power over the Clergy is by our *Otho* said to be *Jurisdicctio Cognitionalis, quoad effectum corrigendi, licet non quoad effectum removendi tales a Villicatione, & suspendendo eos ab officio.* And in this Lynwood agrees with him, allowing that the *Dean Rural* might inflict some of the lesser censures for flight

DR. ATTERBURY'S CHARGE TO
offences: but greater matters he was to refer
to the superior ordinary, at the next synod, or
convention of the Clergy; for which reason
also he looks upon him to have been called
by the Canonists *Testis Synodalis*.

From the cognizance of greater, and particularly of *matrimonial causes*, he was entirely excluded by a Constitution of Otho, both because he was not always supposed duly qualified for a discussion of them, by his skill in Canon Law; and because also, as I apprehend, his office was often likely to determine ere such intricate causes, where many witnesses were to be examined, could be ripened to a sentence. Nor could he ever *prescribe* to a custom of hearing such causes, because, as Lynwood well observes, by reason of a *temporary office*, no prescription lies. On this account, as well as others, the office must needs afterwards have declined apace, because a disuser would bar them of any branch of their authority, and no custom whatsoever could either give them what they had not, or restore to them what they had lost.

It was likewise the *Dean Rural's* business to instruct the younger Clergy in the way of administering and ordering sacraments and
sacra-

facramentals, according to the Canons and Customs of the Church, to appoint preachers for solemn occasions, to take care of the sequestration of vacant livings, and to provide for the supplies of the cure. He took order for, and certified the execution of, processes and decrees out of the superior Court Christian [and had perhaps on this account the title of *Decanus Christianitatis* bestowed on m].

Through his hands went the mandates for *Induction*, and those for the choice of Convocation-clerks, which are still also transmitted by him. For this purpose he had his *Apparitors*, and other under-officers, and an authentick seal, on which the name of *his office* was engraved, but not his *own*; that being allowed only to those *ecclesiastical judges* who were *perpetual*; whereas the office of Rural Dean was *temporary*, and of no longer continuance, even in Lynwood's time, than it is now. *Quolibet anno* (says he) *mutantur decani, et fiunt novi*. This was now settled; but 200 years before, in *Otbo's* time, it appears that they were very unwilling to resign their office with their seals, at the expiration of the year. And therefore a parti-

cular constitution was made by that Legato to compel them to it. I wish the case were not much altered, when that office is accepted by some as unwillingly, as it was then parted with.

The Incumbents of the Deanry were his *Chapter*, which he summoned, as he saw cause, upon special emergencies; but had also stated times of convening them: for some of them were held once in three weeks or a month; others once a quarter; which last were called *Principalia Capitula propter maiorem confluentiam Cleri, & quia in hiis de negotiis arduoribus tractari consuevit.*

In these Quarterly Chapters (wherein first the Rural Deans only, but afterwards the Archdeacons, or their Officials, often presided) deliberation was held of such matters as were thought proper to be laid before the Bishop; and the Parochial Clergy advised together about all affairs in which they were particularly concerned, and took common measures and resolutions upon them; a most excellent and wise institution, fitted to keep up order and uniformity, and to cultivate a good correspondence among the neighbouring Clergy; to arm them against common dan-

gers

gers and difficulties, and enable them every way to promote the interest of religion and virtue, and the good of souls committed to their charge.

And therefore a Right Honourable and Right Reverend Prelate, who adorned the pastoral character as much as any Bishop of his time, hath, in his *Conferences* with the Clergy of the several Deanries in his diocese, revived the image of these Rural Chapters, and pursued the ends of them.

The use of these Rural Chapters was little known out of England; for which reason Lynwood forbears to say much of them: *Quia magis nituntur consuetudini patriæ quam juri communi, de iis ulterius scribere omitto*; though for that very reason one would have wished that he had been more particular in his account of them.

The Editor of the Parochial Antiquities applies this passage of Lynwood to the Rural Deans themselves, and not to their Chapters, to which however it solely belongs.

And now, my Reverend Brethren, having taken as distinct a view as the time would permit of those powers which formerly belonged to Deans Rural, and of the great use-

fulness of such officers, especially in conjunction with their Chapters, give me leave, in the first place, to bemoan the decay of this part of ecclesiastical discipline; and from my heart to wish the revival of it; and then, till that shall happen, in the next place to beseech and exhort you to do what in you lies towards preserving the poor remains of those powers which are still left, and rendering them useful to the purposes for which they were intended.

In matters of publick government, the business of private persons is, I confess, to make the best use they can of the present state of things, without endeavouring to disturb it by new models and schemes, which they think may be of more service. But when a main branch of our antient ecclesiastical constitution hath been dropped by a gradual disuse, no man's modesty needs restrain him from interposing towards a revival of it. And that is the case of Rural Deans and Chapters; which is no new-fangled device, but an institution (as you have heard) of venerable age, by long experience approved, and practised with greater influence and success in this than in any other part of Christendom.

We

We are sure, therefore, that is well adapted to our constitution; and would be so far from interfering, that it would fall-in with the other parts of it, and even contribute to support and strengthen them; and enable those who in an higher sphere hold the reins of ecclesiastical discipline (too long and too much slackened) to guide them to better advantages than they do, or can do at present. This, I am sure, was the opinion of those who, after the Reformation of the Doctrine, were employed to draw up what was necessary towards compleating the Discipline of the Church; and to that end compiled the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, wherein the chapter of *Deans Rural* (which I recommend to your perusal) contains a very full and particular account of their office, as it was then intended to be restored.

When this project proved abortive (for what reason they may easily guess, who consider how ready some men have all along been to blame the defects of our Church-discipline, and how unwilling at the same time to supply them with proper provisions, lest they should want occasions of complaining); I say, when this scheme, in which the civil
power

power was chiefly concerned, took no effect, the *ecclesiastical* power did *what* it could to set things right by authority of Convocation. And among the Canons framed for this purpose, one in 1571 shews how sensible the then Bishops and Clergy were of the usefulness and importance of the Dean Rural's office, about which they thus determined:

“Peractâ visitatione, Archidiaconus significabit Episcopo quos invenerit in quoque Decanatu eâ doctrinâ & judicio præditos, ut digni sint qui pro concione doceant populum, & præsent aliis. Ex iis Episcopus potest Electum facere, quos volet esse Decanos Rurales.”

Here is no account given of the several powers and duties belonging to this Ecclesiastical Officer; two particulars only are mentioned, That he should be well qualified to *preach* and to *govern*. But good *Preachers then*, in the infancy of our Reformation (when many illiterate men were of necessity to be ordained) being not to be found in every Deanry, the character and power of this Officer lessened every day; so that the Convocation of 1603 (which fixed that body of Canons whereby our Church is now governed)

ed) appears not to have entered into any measures towards restoring it.

It hath been endeavoured indeed to promote the same end by *other means*, with which our constitution is wholly unacquainted, namely, by a voluntary erection of Societies for the Reformation of Manners. Far be it from me to condemn the zeal of those persons who with good intentions entered on that desirable work, however unqualified they might be for it. But, when we consider who have encouraged it most, and been most employed in it, we may be allowed to suspect, that one end which some men have had in carrying it on was to take the inspection of Manners out of their hands to whom it most properly belongs; and by that means to render *the function* as useless as they could, in order to its becoming contemptible.

This indeed, together with many other steps taken to the same purpose, not necessary here to be repeated, gives us no very comfortable prospect of procuring any enlargement of the powers we already possess in matters appertaining to religion and virtue, or of retrieving any of those we have lost.

How-

However, some favourable juncture may arise, when our Superiors in Church and State shall lay these matters to heart, and think them worthy of their most serious and wise consideration. And sure I am, that, if ever a re-establishment of Church-discipline in its vigour be sincerely intended, one, and a chief, method of promoting it must be by a restoration of *Rural Deans and Chapters*, to the full extent of their antient powers.

Let us join in common wishes for this; and not forget, in the mean time, to exert the powers of which we are indubitably possessed. The office of Dean Rural is still a great trust, as it carries with it the care of the Church fabrick and utensils, of preventing dilapidations, and of inspecting the manners of the Clergy. These particulars are expressly included in his present oath; the conscientious observance of which is a matter of great consequence; and therefore the choice of such persons as are to discharge these duties ought not to be neglected or eluded.

And when they are chosen, it were to be wished that they would, as soon afterwards

as conveniently they can, set about the work, without deferring it, as they too often do, to the very time of the expiration of their office; when they have neither leisure nor inclination to make due enquiries, or at least due presentments upon them; but satisfy themselves with the promises of the respective persons, Incumbents, to set things right, without having time left sufficient to *oblige* them to perform those promises; which are made again, perhaps, to the next Dean Rural, towards the close of his office also, with as little effect as they were to the former; and thus dilapidations and the decays of Churches increase without end and without remedy.

The Canon of 1571 does, as we have heard, mention *Preaching*, as one part of the Dean Rural's business. I will not say that it certainly meant the *Visitation Sermons*. However, though this be not provided for *especially* by Canon, yet the power of the Ordinary, confirmed by custom, hath made it *binding*. And, I hope, it will be looked upon by those of my Brethren who have a right sense of this matter, rather as an honour than a burthen.

I am

I am sensible I have detained you long; and yet there is somewhat still behind, relating to this argument. But I shall reserve it to be proposed and considered when we meet together in private.

IV. VISITATION SPEECH to the Clergy of the
Diocese of Rochester. May, 1716.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

EVER since, by God's good Providence, and the favour of her late Majesty of ever dear and blessed memory, I was placed in this See, I have earnestly desired thus to meet my Clergy in Visitation: but my long and repeated indispositions, my necessary attendance on Parliament, and the unsettled state of public affairs, have till now prevented it.

I have been the less concerned on this account, because, my diocese being small, I thank God it is so (the smallest I believe in all England, and no part of it far distant from the place of my residence), I was able to inform myself pretty well of the true state of it, without actually visiting it; and one chief design of such Visitations being to enquire into the characters and conduct of the Clergy, I thought I might safely, for some time, defer such an enquiry, being sa-

tified that the Clergy over whom I preside are as honest, regular, and orthodox a body of men as any other in the kingdom. However, one circumstance there was which made this delay unwelcome to me, that it hindered me from knowing you personally, and being personally known to you, as early and as much as I wished to be; and confined my acquaintance chiefly to those of you who were either in my immediate neighbourhood, or had particular occasions of applying themselves to me for the discharge of my Episcopal Functions.

I am now come to supply this defect; and hope that our knowledge of each other will tend to the mutual comfort and advantage of all, and give me every day more and more reason to bless God for placing me in a station so agreeable to me.

I verily believe, that you know very well what belongs to the pastoral care of your flocks, and are not backward to practise it; and yet I should be wanting in *my* duty, should I not take this opportunity of saying something to you concerning *yours*; and therefore I shall, in a very few words, tell you plainly my thoughts, and give you my
advice

advice and direction, in relation to some principal branches of your office, as Parochial Incumbents.

And the *first* thing (as it deserves in the *first* place to be recommended) I recommend to you, is, the reading, or (when you have just reason so to do) procuring such as *will* read the publick prayers, in a deliberate and distinct, a grave and fervent manner; which will imprint upon the minds of your people a veneration for our service, will enliven their attention, and raise their devotion, and edify them more, I am persuaded, than even a well-composed and pathetic Sermon. But this point has, by my honoured predecessor *, on a like occasion, been set in so full and clear a light, and handled with such a force of godly eloquence, that all that any man can say on this head must fall short of what he has already said; and therefore I refer you to his inimitable discourse on this subject, and desire you often and seriously to peruse it. Let me add only my earnest request, that you would, as much as in you lies, persuade your people to resort to publick prayers on Litany-days and Holy-days, as well as Sundays. I know, in smaller villages and pa-

* Bp. Sprat.

rishes, where the inhabitants live by their daily labour, it is difficult to procure a congregation at such times ; and some ministers, that have begun this good practice, have been discouraged from prosecuting it, by the want of numbers to join in the service. And yet I cannot but think that perseverance, and proper application to well-disposed persons, and the influence of a good example set by their own families, might at length attain the desired end, in some places, where the church is now altogether shut up for six days in the week, and the people settled in an opinion that their presence at public devotions is a duty only on Sundays.

It were well also, that the *Sacrament* of the LORD'S Supper were administered in every parish (as it is, I hope, in most parishes of my Diocese) oftener, much oftener, than on the three great festivals ; which might, methinks, be compassed, were the people once satisfied that such a solemn and rigorous preparation of themselves as some books of devotion prescribe (however commendable it may be) is not absolutely necessary towards a worthy reception of it, and that the short and plain directions given for this purpose in the Communion-

munion-office and Church Catechism are those by which every member of this Church should choose to be guided, and on which he may as safely rely as on the rules laid down by any private unauthorized (however pious and well-meaning) writer; and that there is no man so ignorant, or so employed, but that he may, if he will, and as often as he will, by the help of those directions, prepare himself to communicate worthily.

Having mentioned that short, comprehensive, and admirable summary of Christian doctrine the *Church Catechism*, I cannot but express to you my wishes that the teaching it to children, and explaining it publickly in the Church, were a work as grateful to Christian congregations as it is useful to Christianity; and that the Clergy might be allowed rather to employ themselves in discharging this task than in composing Afternoon-sermons—a duty neither enjoined by the *Rubric* nor by any *Canon*, and taken up chiefly from a custom begun in ill times, and for ill purposes; but which cannot now be laid aside, either with decency or prudence, in such populous places, especially where those of the Separation abound, and would draw away our people

from the Church by the multitude of their Sermons.

However that may be, I must insist, that what *is not* required by the Constitution should not be practised in prejudice to *what is*; and therefore that the *preaching* of such Sermons should not intrench upon the important duty of *catechising children*; to which we in a great measure owe the continuance of sincere piety and sound principles among us: and therefore the late encouragers of *Charity-schools* are never enough to be commended for their care and diligence on this head, by which they have deserved well of God and man, and have done the Church of England and the pure Religion of CHRIST excellent service; and *verily they shall not fail of their reward.*

Let me observe to you here what peculiar stress is laid upon the right discharge of this duty of *catechising*, and with what remarkable strictness and severity it is enforced by the sanction of the 59th Canon. I expect that *that Canon* should, if not in the letter, yet in the main intention and design of it, be carefully observed, particularly in Lent, and at such other times and seasons as the minister
in

in his discretion shall judge most proper for this work; and that parents and masters of families should be frequently called upon to do their duty in that respect, by obliging their children and servants to attend his instructions, and to submit themselves to a public and solemn examination.

The administration of the *Sacrament of Baptism* (another important part of Parochial duty) is, you all know, never regularly performed *in private*, but when necessity requires; and even then such Baptism must be certified, and compleated in *publick*. A contrary custom hath crept, here and there, into larger towns, and been gradually established by such compliances with men of rank, distinction, and substance, as are no ways warranted by our Constitution, and have overborn the wise and godly orders of the Church in that behalf. I must desire you to do all that in you lies towards breaking through this ill custom, wherever it has in any degree obtained*.

As likewise another, no less absurd and unreasonable, of performing the office of Thanksgiving for women after child-birth in

* See the Bishop's correspondence on this subject with Dean Stanhope, in vol. I. p.

private chambers; a practice which is not countenanced by any word in the *Rubric*, or by any allowance there made for extraordinary cases, and is a contradiction to the very title as well as design of the office; and one would wonder therefore (if any thing in this age of disorder and confusion were to be wondered at) how it ever came to prevail. I know your endeavours to redress these abuses will be attended with difficulties, arising from the importunity of persons willing in this respect to be distinguished, from the pleas of common usage, ill health, and a regard to the tender age of infants, and from other less justifiable views and considerations: but they are such difficulties as ought to be resisted, and may in time, by an inoffensive steadiness and prudence, and by a mind resolved to overlook lesser advantages, be totally vanquished; and perhaps the due government of those who find their account in such compliances will be the hardest part of the Incumbent's task in this case.

*“Obfistat inolita consuetudo, sed meliori
 “consuetudine vincetur: remurmurabit caro,
 “sed fervore spiritus frænabitur.”* I choose to speak to you in the words used by
 Thomas

Thomas à Kempis to another purpose: and leave them to be applied by you on this occasion, in such manner and measure as your Christian discretion and concern for the honour of the Church, and for the due administration of her Sacraments and Ceremonies, shall suggest. And I should not have said so much on this point, did I not think it a matter of some consequence, however it may have been neglected in places where Schism, Infidelity, and an irreligious Lukewarmness and Indifference have prevailed, and not only relaxed, but well nigh subverted, our discipline in all its branches.

The *Visitation of the Sick* is a matter of daily and obvious use, with which all who have the cure of souls must needs be well acquainted, especially where their flocks are large and numerous: and yet there is no part of the Incumbent's duty which requires greater degrees of spiritual skill, and of a certain holy dexterity and address in the discharge of it. To know how to deal aright with the consciences of decumbent dying sinners; how to break their obstinacy, and soften them into contrition; how to apply comfort or terror to them as there shall be occasion;

how to satisfy their doubts, or, if need be, cure their despair; how to dispose some to works of mercy, others to forgiveness and restitution; how to search their minds to the quick, make them willing to lay open their inward sores and blemishes, and by that means render them desirous and worthy of ghostly absolution; how to *speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority*, and yet with all humility and meekness, with all lenity and tenderness; is a task that cannot be advantageously performed but by a man blessed with a serious and pious frame of spirit, well esteemed for gravity and sanctity of life, endowed with natural prudence, ripened by experience, and competently acquainted with some of the most useful rules of Casuistical Divinity. And he who has this habitual skill and these qualifications will be capable of doing more good to his parishioners while he stands by their sick beds, than perhaps he could ever do them from the pulpit while they were healthy and vigorous. The words of dying men are best remembered by their friends and relations; and the words of the Priest are most attended to by men that are dying, and make the deepest and most useful

impressions upon them: and it has been known, therefore, when a successful discharge of this part of the ministerial function upon sick men, who have afterwards recovered their health, hath given them such a sense of the good offices then done by their Minister, and such a reverence for his character, as has made them ever afterwards submissive to his advice, and consequently exemplary in their lives and conversations, and patterns of that regard which is due to the Clergy from those who are edified by their holy ministration.

As to the *duty of Preaching*, there is none that requires less to be given *in charge* to the Clergy, because there is none by which they more confessedly adorn their holy calling.

One thing only I shall say upon it, for the encouragement of those of the younger sort, who may have newly taken Holy Orders, and entered on Parochial Cures—that it is not so difficult a thing to be a good Preacher as some men imagine: there being nothing, in my opinion, necessary to it, but a thorough knowledge of the Scripture, a vital sense of Religion upon the heart, a desire of being useful to the congregation, and a fixed resolution

lution of saying nothing from the pulpit, of which the Preacher himself is not clearly and fully convinced beforehand: and these attainments all lie within the reach of every honest good man, who has a competent share of natural understanding. He that is well versed in Holy Writ, and to whom the phrase of it is familiar, will not fail of adding weight and authority to all he says: he that speaks from his own heart, will easily reach the hearts and consciences of those that hear him: he that studies only how to edify his people by plain instructive doctrine will be sure of being listened to with attention, respect, and love; and he who appears to be seriously persuaded of the truth of what he delivers, takes the best way in the world to persuade and convince others; the pious warmth he inwardly feels will animate and enliven his discourse, and raise some degrees of that holy flame in the breasts of his audience.

But enough of this argument, which, I am sensible, transports me too far, into a manner of speaking more proper for the pulpit, than for such an assembly on such an occasion. And therefore to return.

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The

The plain thoughts I have offered to you, concerning some branches of Parochial Duty, will be best enforced by adding my hearty request to those of you who have a legal excuse, or just occasion, to be absent from your Cures, to supply them with such persons as will be sure every way to answer the great trust reposed in them.

Since I came to this Diocese, I know of no *Curate* nominated to me for my Licence, whom I have not had good reason to think well qualified for his work. I bless God for it! and doubt not but I shall find those (and many such there are) who have not applied themselves to me on that account, every way as fit and deserving. I shall pay great regard to the Letters Testimonial given them in this case by the Incumbent of the parish, and by the neighbouring Clergy; and therefore may justly expect that you will all be, to the utmost degree, scrupulous in granting and signing such Testimonials; and am very desirous that, whenever you recommend any to me for Orders, Institution, or a Curacy, you would not content yourselves with the common forms, but would be express and particular in the characters of the persons, the
time

time for which you have known them, and the salaries (if Curates) which you are willing to allow them. I hope no one will think it proper, for the future, to sit down in such a station, without my previous consent and approbation.

I expect the same personal applications to me by all such as now *do*, or *shall* hereafter, teach School in my Diocese; nor will any licence ever issue to the latter till they have passed my examination.

The *spiritual* part of your Charge has, you see, so far taken up *my* thoughts, and *your* time, that I have scarce room to add any thing about matters of a *temporal* concern; which, though of an inferior nature, are yet by no means to be overlooked.

However, two or three things of this kind there are, which I shall mention, and which deserve to be considered by you.

The first of them is, That the old Canon, about the annual *Perambulations* of Parishes, may, as far as in you lies, be observed. I fear it has been generally neglected, and thought a matter of more trouble than consequence: but experience has shewn that such neglects have, in some places, been attended with

with great inconveniences to the Minister and to the People, with relation to their Parochial Rights and Boundaries; and therefore I could wish that this laudable custom were every where revived and continued.

The supporting your *Parsonage and Vicarage houses* by all necessary reparations, and preserving the *timber* that grows in your cœmeteries, or on your glebes, for *that purpose*, or for *the repair of your chancels*, is *another thing*, which I cannot too earnestly recommend to you. You are obliged to it, in obedience to the laws both of Church and State, in gratitude to your Patrons, and in justice to your Successors: the honour of the Church, and the credit of your Order, require this at your hands, which are impaired and sullied by few things more than by scandalous dilapidations. Nor can any Incumbent, I think, with a good conscience, apply to his own use the profits of his living, till he has taken due care of the mansion allotted to him; which those revenues were designed to support in the *first place*, and the Incumbent himself *afterwards*. I speak not this by way of blame, but admonition: for I have not hitherto had opportunities of informing myself duly in
such

such matters. But if God shall give me life and health, my purpose is to be an eye-witness myself of all such defects (if any such there be) within the several parishes of my Diocese.

I have yet one thing more to offer to you ; in which I take the interest of the Church to be deeply concerned.

The 87th Canon directs the making and transmitting to the Bishop *true Terriers*. That task, when enjoined by authority, hath not always been performed with due care and exactness, and hath proved a detriment sometimes, rather than an advantage, to the livings concerned.

Wherever it is undertaken, it will be most usefully and effectually done if there be inserted in such Terriers not only the particulars required by that Canon (to which I refer you), but moreover accounts of all charitable gifts and bequests to the poor of the parish, to any school or hospital there, for the reparation of the Church, or the Minister's maintenance ; of any composition, or modus, and to what portion of lands, or species of tithes, such modus extends. These,
and

and fundry other particulars (not easy to be enumerated) should be specified in those accounts: and would the Incumbents (under the influence of any direction I should be glad to give for that purpose) procure such compleat States of the Rights and Revenues of this kind in their severall parishes, and return them, authentically vouched, into my Registry, I would take care that they should not only there be preserved, but entered fairly in a book, to which their successors might always resort, and receive from thence proper lights and informations. This method well pursued would (I am satisfied) be one of the best and wisest steps that could be taken towards securing, in due time, the patrimony of the Chnrch from all further illegal and sacrilegious encroachments.

But I must detain you no longer. The proper work of Visitation requires our attendance; and the ensuing *Confirmation* will take up much of our time. I depend upon it that care has been taken to offer no one to me to be confirmed, but who hath first been examined, or whom the Minister otherwise knows to be well qualified for that holy ordinance.

It

It remains, that I exhort both myself and you, my Reverend Brethren, that we all do our duties faithfully, *as* in the sight of God, on *this*, and on all *other* occasions. Let us make it the chief study and endeavour of our lives *to work the work of him that sent us*, and so fulfil the high commission we have received from the *great Shepherd and Bishop of souls*.

Let us *preach the word*, and live answerably to what we preach—*Be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine: not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God*. Let us *watch in all things*, and, if need be, *endure afflictions; do the work of Evangelists, make full proof of our ministry*.

Let us behave ourselves in all the offices of our stations, and in all circumstances, discreetly indeed, warily, wisely; but withal courageously, zealously, firmly. Let us not be frightened from a resolute discharge of our duty, by any appearances of danger or difficulties; but go on in our way and in our works, though the sky should look lowering
over

over our heads, and the face of the heavens should gather blackness! He that thus observeth the winds shall not sow, and he that thus regardeth the clouds shall not reap.

Let us act, as becomes us, in the present moment, and trust God with the event. His Providence and Protection will not be wanting to us, if we are not first wanting to ourselves. If we are exemplary in our lives, and faithful to our deaths, in what is entrusted to us, our Candlestick shall not be removed, nor our Light extinguished: but *we of this Church*, as found and pure members of the Catholic Church of CHRIST, shall enjoy our share of his promise, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it!

Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.

And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up; and, having established, strengthened, and settled you here, to give you an inheritance hereafter among all them which are sanctified.

DEDICATION prefixed by Dr. ATTERBURY to
Fourteen Sermons, 1708.

To the Right Reverend Father in God,
JONATHAN *, by Divine Permission, Lord
Bishop of WINCHESTER, and Prelate of
the Most Noble Order of the GARTER.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

TO accept this public testimony of gra-
titude, from a man who stands in-
debted to your Lordship for many favours,
great

* Jonathan Trelawney was a younger son of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, of Pelynt, in Cornwall. But his elder brother dying in 1680, he inherited the title of baronet. He was a man of polite manners, competent learning, and uncommon knowledge of the world. He was a true son and friend of the Church; and exerted himself with courage and alacrity, with magnanimity and address, in defence of her just rights and privileges. He was friendly and open, generous and charitable; was a good companion, and a good man. He was successively Bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester. He had as much personal intrepidity as bishop Mews, his predecessor in the last of these sees; and was, in all other respects, much his superior. The masterly dedication before Dr.

Atter-

great in themselves, but made much greater by your free and generous manner of conferring them*. For they were not the effects of importunity, or the just rewards of domestic service; they sprang not from dependence, or acquaintance; being bestowed on one who was (at the first) little known to your Lordship, otherwise than by his honest endeavours to retrieve those Synodical Rights of the Clergy, whereof you, my Lord, have been all along, to your great honour, the avowed Patron and Defender.

I mention not this instance of your Lordship's goodness to me, with any view of distinguishing myself from others. For you have done nothing in my case, but what you have frequently practised since the time that Divine Providence, for the good of this Church,

Atterbury's Sermons is addressed to this Prelate. The reader may see in it some traits of his character, without the exaggerations which are too often found in compositions of this kind; and which bring the sincerity of authors in question, before we have read the first page of their works. He died July 18, 1721. GRANGER.

* The Bishop's favours had before been handsomely acknowledged by Dr. Atterbury, in his first Charge to the Archdeaconry of Totness. See p. 211.

raised you to the episcopal dignity ; nothing, but what hath been successively acknowledged by all those who have prefixed your right reverend name to their labours, from the learned and venerable Dr. Pocock, down to the mean Author of the following Sermons. And, while your Lordship continues to repeat the same acts of generosity, you must be contented to receive the very same acknowledgments ; since we, who share the obligations, can scarce find a better way of expressing our thanks, and doing justice to your character, than by informing the world why and how they were derived to us.

The secrecy with which wise statesmen conduct their designs for the public good, so as that the execution alone shall make the discovery, hath by your Lordship been as carefully observed in your private schemes of beneficence ; which have seldom appeared till they took effect, and surpris'd even those who were most nearly interested in the success of them. By this means you have, after the best manner, forbidden all applications, by rendering them not only unnecessary, but impracticable ; and have enjoyed
to

to the utmost both the honour and the pleasure of well-doing.

Indeed, there is scarce any virtue, which either disposes the mind to deserve well of others, or adds comeliness and grace to deserving actions, that doth not manifestly appear and shine in your Lordship: and by these recommending circumstances you engage the very hearts of those you oblige, and double the value of every kindness you do them.

To give, hoping (and looking) for nothing again, is the gospel-rule of beneficence; and your Lordship hath strictly observed it. For none of your gifts have been clogged with conditions: you have expected no returns, but what every one, who hath a thankful mind, and a just sense of his duty, would even choose and delight to pay: you have aimed only at doing as became you in your high station; and when those whom you advanced did likewise as became them in their stations, your desires were answered, and you had your reward.

It is well known with what courtesy and ease you have always treated those whom you

have once obliged ; on that very account they were sure of having a nearer and freer access to your Lordship, instead of being kept to the usual terms of distance and dependance : you have been so far from ever putting any man in mind of what you have done for him, that you would never bear to be put in mind of it yourself ; and have not been more careful to prevent solicitations, than to avoid acknowledgments. You had the thanks of your own conscience ; and you neither needed nor desired any other.

It is the peculiar happiness of those persons on whom your favours are placed, that they receive them from an hand eminent for its great and lasting services to our Church and Constitution. For there are, I think, no enemies whatsoever, either of her doctrine, discipline, or worship (either within doors, or without) but what your Lordship hath, in the course of your episcopal government, withstood and baffled.

You were one of those Seven Prelates (worthy of honourable remembrance) who gave the most effectual check to the attempts of Popery in a late reign, and preserved the pure profession of Christianity among us by the

the same suffering methods by which it was at first propagated. It can never be forgotten, with what a true Christian spirit (such as animated the chief Pastors of the Church in those days when Episcopacy was a certain step to martyrdom) you stood forth, and offered yourself willingly to *witness a good confession*; how solicitous you were, lest the Tower-gates should have been shut upon those excellent persons, ere your distance would permit you to accompany them in their glorious confinement; to partake of which you made as much haste, as some men afterwards did to draw the advantages of it to themselves under a new turn of affairs.

When that happened, new occasions also of serving the Church offered themselves to your Lordship, which you as readily embraced. The fatherly vigilance and exemplary firmness you then shewed, in frustrating the methods made use of to perpetuate schism by unauthorized schools and seminaries, were observed with pleasure, and owned with thanks, by all that wished well to our Establishment. Nor could they who wished ill to it justly blame an endeavour

of securing to the Ordinary that power which he always enjoyed, and of which he is not yet divested; and of confining a legal indulgence within the bounds prescribed by that law which gave birth to it.

Shall I take notice here of the seasonable and liberal encouragements you reached out to a worthy Presbyter of this Church, who repressed the bold attempts of sectaries by his learned and accurate writings? It may, I think, become me to mention even this particular act of your bounty, since it had a general aim and influence, and was not terminated in the person, how deserving soever, but in the righteous cause which he espoused; and which as your Lordship's fixed judgment leads you by all lawful means to support, so your temper inclines you rather to promote by rewards than punishments.

The fears of Popery were scarce removed, when heresy began to diffuse its venom; and the sacred mysteries of our faith were, after a daring and petulant manner, exposed to public scorn, even in one of those famous seats of knowledge which then were, and still are, the chief bulwarks of true Religion. It pleased God that you were now possessed
of

of a See which gave you power* to visit and correct such enormities ; and you exerted that power with zeal and vigour ; driving out from the Schools of Learning a Disciple of Arius†, who had all the craft and obstinacy of his Master, and the good-luck, for some time, to be as well supported. The prosecuting of this cause was attended with so many difficulties, as would have shaken a resolution less firm than your Lordship's. But the discharge of your great trust, and the maintenance of God's truth, were the springs which had set you on work ; and they who act upon such principles can never be discouraged.

The issue of that memorable struggle, as it was of great advantage to the Church and the Universities in other respects, so particularly in this, that it fixed the power of Visitors (not till then acknowledged final) upon the sure foundation of a judgement in Parliament‡ ; and by that means made so
effectual

* As Visitor of Exeter College, Oxford.

† Dr. Bury, Rector of that College ; see vol. I. p. 5.

‡ See a particular account of the pamphlets published on this occasion, in Mr. Gough's valuable work, intituled, " British Topography," vol. II. p. 147, 148 ; whence it appears, that the case of Dr. Bury's ejection having been brought into the House of Peers, by appeal from the
King's

effectual a provision for the future quiet of those learned bodies, as may be reckoned equal to the greatest benefactions.

This, and another parliamentary decision, which your Lordship not long after with equal difficulty obtained, and by which the Bishops' sole right to judge of the qualifications of persons applying for institution was unalterably confirmed, are such instances of your magnanimity and public spirit, as will remain in memory while the Church or the Law of England lasts. For they were not temporary services, to be made use of and talked of for a while, and then forgotten; but (as the Historian truly said of his own writings) perpetual acquisitions, laid up for the benefit of succeeding ages; and he who contends for common rights with lower aims than these, means not the Constitution, but himself; and deserves not the applause even of his own times, when he is not disinterested enough to look beyond them.

It was the sense of these important services already done by your Lordship, that our King's Bench, the power of Visitors was then settled, with all the authority it could receive from the Constitution; and no Court at Westminster or the Arches has since received an appeal against a Visitor.

caſioned

caſioned a general joy among good men, when they heard of your intended tranſlation to the See of Wincheſter. Particularly, the Clergy of that Dioceſe, and the Univerſity of Oxford, who were chiefly concerned in the conſequences of your promotion, received the firſt accounts of it with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and were in pain while the event was ſuſpended—a ſuſpenſe which, we may preſume, deſigned to do honour to your Lordſhip, and to juſtify the wiſdom of her Majeſty's choice; ſince it tended to ſhew how impatiently you were expected and deſired by thoſe who were to be under your inſpection and authority.

Among all the learned bodies whoſe hopes and fears were then in greateſt agitation, none was more (or with more reaſon) ſollicitous than that Houſe * which had the honour of educating your Lordſhip, and inſtilling into your mind thoſe principles, which whoever hath once imbibed ſeldom forſakes; and whoſe ever forſakes not, muſt immoveably adhere to the true intereſts of the Church and Monarchy. Whiſt that fruitful Parent thus trains up her children, ſhe is ſecure of protection and favour from your Lordſhip, or

* Chriſt Church, Oxford.

from

from whoever else he be that hath not been withheld from doing good to her in evil days by malicious and groundless clamours. Under your and their shadow she hath rested at noon, when the heat was most intense and scorching. She hath flourished hitherto, and will, I doubt not, still continue to flourish, though her enemies be many and mighty, and daily shoot out their arrows against her, even bitter words. She looks upon your Lordship's advancement as a sure token that Divine Providence is still propitious to her; and, encouraged by this prospect, she is ready to take up her parable, and say, "Joseph is
 " a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a
 " well, whose branches run over the wall.
 " The archers have sorely grieved him, and
 " shot at him, and hated him: but his bow
 " abode in strength, and the arms of his
 " hands were made strong by the hands of
 " the mighty God of Jacob: from thence is
 " the Shepherd, the stone of Israel."

In the names of these, and of all other the true friends and sons of the Church, permit me, my Lord, to congratulate your accession to a See, which will afford you such a sphere of action as you were made to fill; which will furnish you with many welcome

opportunities of doing good, of rewarding merit, of cherishing piety and virtue, of encouraging persons distinguished by their learning, their undaunted assertion of divine truths, and undissembled zeal for our admirable constitution in Church and State; which will, in short, enable you to carry on all those excellent designs, to which your upright and bountiful heart is religiously inclined.

What may we not promise ourselves from the influence of your Lordship's conduct in so eminent a station? from your known courage and fervency in the cause of God and his Church? from the greatness of your mind, the goodness of your intentions, and the soundness of your principles? from that habitual love of worthy deeds, which you contracted so early, and have by long practice confirmed? and from your experience of the success that hath attended you in all you have suffered or done for the public?

By your Lordship's means, and within the circle of your power, we doubt not but to see all proper steps taken towards reviving decayed discipline, and restoring Church censures to their due force and credit; towards detecting and defeating clandestine simoniacal

simoniacal contracts ; towards securing the rights and revenues of the Clergy from encroachments, rescuing their persons and sacred function from contempt ; and freeing Religion itself from the insults now made upon it by blasphemous tongues and pens, with equal boldness and impunity.

These, my Lord, are the expectations with which the best men are now entertaining themselves, and which you are hastening to make good. The actions of the past years of your life are a sure earnest and pledge of what those to come will produce ; and the bright example you have set long ago to yourself and to others, shall grow brighter in proportion to your power and opportunities : for “ the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto a perfect day.”

The great honours and revenues, still annexed to some few stations in the Church, are the chief mark which impiety, envy, and sacrilege, aim at ; and much they have to say, why Religion should be stripped of these superfluous and unprofitable ornaments. But malice itself is disarmed, and all objections are silenced, when those rewards are bestowed on men who, by their birth, and virtues,

virtues, and experience, are every way qualified for them; whose hereditary fortunes* and noble natures set them above all mean designs of diverting the patrimony of the Church to improper uses; and who are ready therefore to reflect back upon Religion the advantages they derive from thence, and to abound in all the offices of hospitality and charity, in proportion to what they enjoy. I need not say how far these excellent qualities belong to your Lordship, and are a confessed part of your character.

When we compare the good which you have done, my Lord, with that which you have received, it brings to mind the apposite passage of the Prophet: "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he be established." Your Lordship is an illustrious instance of this truth; for the blessings you have so plentifully scattered on those beneath you, have been multiplied on your own head from above; and you have reaped the benefits of a most generous and firm friendship, in like manner as you sowed them. "You have given, my Lord, and

* The Bishop acquired the paternal estate, with the title of Baronet, on the death of his eldest brother. See p. 274.

“ it hath been given unto you ; good measure,
 “ sure, pressed down, shaken together, and
 “ running over : for with the same measure
 “ which you meted withal hath it been
 “ (and may it ever be !) measured to you
 “ again.”

Your happiness, my Lord, is now as complete as all the prosperous circumstances of life can make it ; and your private domestic felicities (a case rarely known) are no ways inferior to those of a more public and splendid nature. For you are happy in the best of ladies*, as she is in the tenderest of husbands ; you have the best of brothers and the best of children † ; those “ arrows in the hand of the mighty
 “ man,” which are both his ornament and defence : God be thanked, your “ quiver is
 “ full of them !” And He amongst them, who is to inherit your ample fortunes ‡, doth, by his early love of learning, and most vir-

* Rebecca, daughter and coheirefs of Thomas Hele, of Briscomb, Devonshire, esq.

† Three sons and five daughters.

‡ Sir John Trelawney, the Bishop's eldest son, died about the year 1755 ; and two younger brothers being dead before him, the title descended to his cousin Sir Henry, who had married Letitia, the bishop's fifth daughter.

tuous disposition, promise that he will one day do honour even to that honourable stock from which he springs.

With such a variety of blessings hath God surrounded you ! and, that nothing may be wanting, he hath blessed you likewise with a heart and a skill to use them. May you, through his goodness, enjoy an uninterrupted continuance of them ; and such a length of days, as will give you room to improve them to the utmost, for his glory, and the public benefit !

This, my Lord, is the unanimous wish of all that have been obliged by you, of all that honour you ; that is, of all that truly know you ; but of none more than him who now offers these Sermons to your Lordship, and, with that sincerity which becomes a Preacher of Divine Truth, professes himself to be, by all the ties of esteem and duty, gratitude and inclination,

Your Lordship's most devoted
and ever faithful servant,

F^A. ATTERBURY.

DEDICATION to a Discourse delivered May 29,
1709, to the Fellows of SION COLLEGE.

Reverendis in Christo Fratribus SIONENSIS
COLLEGII SOCIIS, atque Ecclesiarum Lon-
dinensium Pastoribus.

COLLEGII nostri Fundatori hoc erat
propositum, quod & supremis tabulis
testatum reliquit, ut, celebratis frequentius
Cleri Conventibus, permistisque consiliis, &
*Evangelicæ Doctrinæ veritati, & mutuo inter
fratres amori optimè* consuleretur. Huic in-
stituto ut satisfierit, a me quidem hac con-
cione tentatum est; a vobis autem effectum,
cum, quam ego haussem e Sacris Literis de
regum jure in subditos sententiam defenden-
dam susceperim, eidem & vos fraternis ani-
mis usquequaque consentientes habuerim.
Retulit enim mihi, qui tum cœtui nostro præ-
fidebat, Vir integerrimus, traditam a me e
suggero doctrinam & comprobasse vos, et,
ut in publicum exiret, uno ore postulavisse:
Quorum alterum cum, Ecclesiæ nostræ &
Reipublicæ causâ, mihi esset gratissimum, al-
teri certe non erat repugnandum.

Habete

Habete itaque, *Viri præstantissimi*, quam expetivistis, Concionem ; eâ parte etiam quâ prius manca erat, auctam atque absolutam : Quæ enim uncis includuntur, cum Orationi, intra horæ unius spatium contrahendæ, inseri non possent, ut jam editæ accederent, curavi. Hæc autem, tanquam iudicio vestro atque testimonio munita, Lectori minimè exhibeo : eodem tamen filo, quo ea quæ audivistis, contexta cum sint iisdem planè fundamentis subnixa ; cætera qui probaverint, ne hæc improbenon est magnopere extimescendum.

Faxit Deus, quæ afferuntur a nobis, ut stabiliendæ Pauli doctrinæ, ut tuendæ Regum dignitati, pacique publicæ conservandæ, ut denique tollendis iis, quæ, in re omnium exploratissimâ, non absque Christiani nominis labe, nunc gliscunt, controversiis aliquatenus inserviant ! Ad istiusmodi certè lites sedandas vestra omnium, Fratres, consensus, ac communis sollicitudo, et valuit semper, & valebit, plurimum : Præsertim cum Venerandi admodum in Christo Patris nostri Episcopi Londinensis * curis atque consiliis respondeat.

* Dr. Henry Compton.

Quæ cum ita sint, hortatio non est necessaria ; gratulatione magis utendum est. Liceat itaque mihi verbis Ignatianis vos affari—

Τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμασον ὑμῶν Πρεσβυτέριον, τῷ Θεῷ ἀξίον, ὅπως συνήρμοσι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρας· διὰ τῆτο, ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν, καὶ συμφώνῳ αἰγάπῃ Χριστὸς ἄδεται.

Ut ita semper in rebus ad Deum pertinentibus sentiatis, ita Christianam Veritatem tueamini, concordiam foveatis, precatur

Conservus vester in Domino nostro
Christo Jesu,

FR. ATTERBURY.

DEDICATION to a Sermon preached before
the SONS of the CLERGY, Dec. 6, 1709.

To the Worshipful STEWARDS * for the late
Feast of the Sons of the Clergy.

GENTLEMEN,

Dec. 23, 1709.

YOU desired me to preach and print this
Sermon : I complied with you in both
these requests ; though I had just objections
to both of them. Permit me now, in my
turn, to ask one thing of you ; against which,
I think, there lies no objection : that as you
have, with some trouble and expence, sup-
ported our Anniversary-meeting, so you
would continue always to countenance it by
your presence, and heartily to favour the
honest and pious design of it. There are, I
believe, two hundred persons now living, who
have gone before you in the Stewardship. If

* Mr. John Tenison, Mr. John Scott, Mr.
Thomas Fulkes, Mr. Humphry Colmer, Dr. John
Freind, Mr. Anthony Webber, Mr. John Mark-
ham, Mr. Benajah Barret, Mr. John Bosville,
Mr. George Plaxton, Mr. Joseph Sherwood, Mr.
Augustin Martin.

all these be as earnest and solicitous to promote this charity when *out* of that office, as they were when *in* it, we need not doubt but that it will spread and enlarge itself every year more and more; as, God be thanked, it hath lately done, notwithstanding the great discouragements under which it labours, by reason of the public taxes, and its many new rivals in the same *labour of love*; but chiefly by reason of the growing wickedness of those who, being enemies to the Clergy, and to the Religion of CHRIST, must needs be enemies to this particular Charity.

In composing this Discourse, I purposely declined all offensive and displeasing truths, as unseasonable at a time peculiarly dedicated to the exercise of Charity; not as in themselves misbecoming the Preachers of the Gospel: for I have learnt from one who well knew and practised every art of spiritual prudence, so as to "become all things to all men, in order to save some;" that there are also times when we must "be instant in preaching the word, though out of season;" and when "they who please men are no longer the servants of CHRIST;" times when that holy *ωαρρησία*, so much spoken of
in

in Scripture, is necessary; even that undaunted firmness of mind and freedom of speech, by which the doctrine of the Gospel was disseminated at first, and must still be maintained. When such opportunities offer themselves, God, I hope, will enable all those who wait at his altar to discharge a good conscience with equal wisdom and courage.

I have added here and there, in the margins of the following sheets, some passages from St. Chrysostom; because they are not only very apposite, but expressed also with great life and beauty: and I had hopes, by the means of them, to excite those of my brethren who are newly entered into the Ministry, carefully to peruse that excellent treatise from which they are taken: a treatise which, next to the sacred pages themselves, and the offices of ordination prescribed by our Church, is, I am persuaded, of the greatest use, to give us true impressions of the dignity and duties of the Priesthood, and to warn us into resolutions of acting in every case as becomes our sacred character. I cannot but express my satisfaction, that a learned hand hath lately taken this useful piece out

296 TO THE STEWARDS OF SONS OF CLERGY.

of St. Chrysostom's works, and published it in a separate volume*.

Excuse me, Gentlemen, for mixing things of this nature in an address to you; which was designed only to acquaint the world, who are answerable for the publication of this Sermon; and to assure you, after the most proper manner, that I am

Your very affectionate

and most humble servant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

* Mr. J. Hughes, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Two of his letters are printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1778, pp. 583. 623; in one of which he tells Mr. Bonwicke, "I have at last been prevailed upon to undertake an edition of St. Chrysostom *de peccatis*; and I would beg the favour of you to send me your octavo edition. I want a small volume to lay by me; and the Latin version may be of some service to me, if I correct the interpretation of Fronton Ducaeus." A second edition of this treatise was printed at Cambridge, in Greek and Latin, with notes, and a preliminary dissertation against the pretended "Rights of the Church, &c." in 1712. A good English translation of St. Chaysoftom "On the Priesthood," a posthumous work by the Rev. John Bunce, M. A. was published by his son (vicar of St. Stephen's near Canterbury) in 1760.

P. R. E.

P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND PART OF

WALLER'S POEMS*, 1690.

THE reader needs be told no more in commendation of these poems, than that they are Mr. Waller's: a name that carries every thing in it that is either great or graceful in Poetry! He was indeed the

* "Atterbury was thought to be the author of the Life of Waller, prefixed to the first octavo edition of that poet's works." Dr. WAR-
TON, Essay on Pope, vol. II. p. 436.—This amiable writer has very evidently confounded the "Life" of Waller, which is a performance every way unworthy the pen of Dr. Atterbury, with the "Preface" here preserved, which undoubtedly was his. Mr. Fenton, from whose quarto edition I now transcribe it, says, "It is generally known to have been written by a person whose fine genius and consummate learning have long rendered him one of the brightest ornaments of our age: and though it was a casual essay, composed in his youth, it is too finished a masterpiece for me to have expected either pardon or praise had I attempted another dissertation." The Preface to the former part, in 1664, is supposed to have been written by Waller himself.

Parent,

Parent of English Verse, and the first that shewed us our tongue had beauty and numbers in it. Our language owes more to him than the French does to Cardinal Richelieu and the whole Academy. A Poet cannot think of him without being in the same rapture Lucretius* is in when Epicurus comes in his way:

Tu pater, & rerum inventor; tu patria nobis
Suppeditas præcepta: tuisque ex, Inclute! chartis,
Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta;
Aurea! perpetuâ semper dignissima vitâ!

The tongue came into his hands like a rough diamond: he polished it first; and to that degree, that all artists since him have admired the workmanship, without pretending to mend it. Suckling and Carew, I must confess, wrote some few things smoothly enough: but as all they did in this kind was not very considerable, so it was a little later than the earliest pieces of Mr. Waller. He undoubtedly stands first in the list of refiners; and, for aught I know, last too: for I question whether in Charles the Second's

* Book III. ver. 9.

reign English did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its Augustean age, as well as the Latin. It seems to be already mixed with foreign languages as far as its purity will bear; and, as Chémists say of their menstruums, to be quite fated with the infusion. But posterity will best judge of this. In the mean time, it is a surprising reflection that between what Spenser wrote last, and Waller first, there should not be much above twenty years distance: and yet the one's language, like the money of that time, is as current now as ever; whilst the other's words are like old coins, one must go to an Antiquary to understand their true meaning and value. Such advances may a great Genius make, when it undertakes any thing in earnest!

Some Painters will hit the chief lines and master-strokes of a face so truly, that through all the differences of age the picture shall still bear a resemblance. This art was Mr. Waller's: he sought out, in this flowing tongue of ours, what parts would last, and be of standing use and ornament: and this he did so successfully, that his language is now as fresh as it was at first setting out. Were we

to

to judge barely by the wording, we could not know what was wrote at twenty, and what at fourscore. He complains, indeed, of a tide of words that comes in upon the English Poet, and overflows whatever he builds; but this was less his case than any man's that ever wrote; and the mischief of it is, this very complaint will last long enough to confute itself; for, though English be mouldering stone, as he tells us there, yet he has certainly picked the best out of a bad quarry.

We are no less beholden to him for the new turn of verse which he brought in, and the improvement he made in our numbers. Before his time, men rhymed indeed, and that was all: as for the harmony of measure, and that dance of words which good ears are so much pleased with, they knew nothing of it. Their poetry then was made up almost entirely of monosyllables; which, when they come together in any cluster, are certainly the most harsh untunable things in the world. If any man doubts of this, let him read ten lines in Donne, and he will be quickly convinced. Besides, their verses ran all into one another; and hung together, through-

throughout a whole copy, like the hooked atoms that compose a body in Des Cartes. There was no distinction of parts, no regular stops, nothing for the ear to rest upon ; but, as soon as the copy began, down it went, like a larum, incessantly ; and the reader was sure to be out of breath before he got to the end of it. So that really verse in those days was but down-right prose tagged with rhymes. Mr. Waller removed all these faults ; brought in more polysyllables, and smoother measures ; bound up his thoughts better ; and in a cadence more agreeable to the nature of the verse he wrote in : so that wherever the natural stops of that were, he contrived the little breakings of his sense so as to fall in with them. And for that reason, since the stress of our verse lies commonly upon the last syllable, you will hardly ever find him using a word of no force there. I would say, if I were not afraid the reader would think me too nice, that he commonly closes with verbs, in which we know the life of language consists.

Among other improvements, we may reckon that of his rhymes : which are always good, and very often the better for being new.

He

He had a fine ear, and knew how quickly that sense was cloyed by the same round of chiming words still returning upon it. It is a decided case by the great Master of writing*, "*Quæ sunt ampla & pulchra, diu placere possunt; quæ lepida & concinna*" (amongst which rhyme must, whether it will or no, take its place) "*citò satietate afficiunt aurium sensum fastidiosissimum.*" This he understood very well; and therefore, to take off the danger of a surfeit that way, strove to please by variety and new sounds. Had he carried this observation, among others, as far as it would go, it must, methinks, have shown him the incurable fault of this jingling kind of poetry; and have led his later judgment to blank verse. But he continued an obstinate lover of rhyme to the very last: it was a mistress that never appeared unhand-some in his eyes; and was courted by him long after Sacharissa was forsaken. He had raised it, and brought it to that perfection we now enjoy it in: and the Poet's temper (which has always a little vanity in it) would not suffer him ever to slight a thing he had

* Cicero ad Herennium, l. iv.

taken so much pains to adorn. My Lord Roscommon was more impartial: no man ever rhymed truer and evener than he; yet, he is so just as to confess, that it is but a trifle; and to wish the tyrant dethroned, and blank verse set up in its room. There is a third person *, the living glory of our English poetry, who has disclaimed the use of it upon the stage, though no man ever employed it there so happily as he. It was the strength of his genius that first brought it into credit in plays; and it is the force of his example that has thrown it out again. In other kinds of writing it continues still, and will do so till some excellent Spirit arises that has leisure enough and resolution to break the charm, and free us from the troublesome bondage of rhyming, as Mr. Milton very well calls it; and has proved it as well by what he has wrote in another way †. But this
is

* Mr. Dryden.

† Tonson, in his Dedication to Lord Somers, says, that it was his Lordship's opinion and encouragement that occasioned the first appearance of *Paradise Lost* in the folio edition. This assertion Bp. Atterbury (in a MS note on Milton) denies, and says that *He* was the person who first proposed and gave occasion to that publication.—

I have

is a thought for times at some distance ; the present age is a little too warlike ; it may perhaps furnish out matter for a good poem in the next, but it will hardly encourage one now : without prophesying, a man may easily know what sort of laurels are like to be in request.

Whilst I am talking of verse, I find myself, I do not know how, betrayed into a great deal of prose. I intended no more than to put the reader in mind what respect was due to any thing that fell from the pen of Mr. Waller. I have heard his last printed copies, which are added in the several editions of his poems, very slightly spoken of ; but certainly they do not deserve it. They do indeed discover themselves to be his last, and that is

I have not myself seen the note on which this assertion is founded : but it is told me on the recollection of a friend on whose accuracy the fullest dependance may be placed.—It may not be amiss to observe, that Butler's Posthumous Works had also the advantage of being inspected in MS. by Atterbury, as we learn from Mr. Thyer ; who, from that circumstance, takes occasion to insinuate a charge of plagiarism against Swift, to whom he supposes Atterbury might have communicated the nature and subjects of the MSS. See Swift's Works, large 8vo, vol. XXIV. p. 596.

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the worst we can say of them. He is there,

*Jam senior ; sed cruda Deo viridisque senectus **.

The same censure perhaps will be passed on the pieces of this second part. I shall not so far engage for them, as to pretend they are all equal to whatever he wrote in the vigour of his youth : yet, they are so much of a piece with the rest, that any man will at first sight know them to be Mr. Waller's. Some of them were wrote very early, but not put into former collections, for reasons obvious enough, but which are now ceased. The play was altered to please the court : it is not to be doubted who sat for the two brothers' characters. It was agreeable to the sweetness of Mr. Waller's temper, to soften the rigour of the tragedy, as he expresses it : but whether it be so agreeable to the nature of tragedy itself to make every thing come off easily, I leave to the critics. In the prologue and epilogue there are a few verses that he has made use of upon another occasion : but

* *Virg. Æn. vi. 304.*

“ Though old, still unimpair'd by years he stood.”

PITT.

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X

the

the reader may be pleased to allow that in him that has been allowed so long in Homer and Lucretius. Exact writers dress up their thoughts so very well always, that, when they have need of the same sense, they cannot put it into other words, but it must be to its prejudice. Care has been taken, in this book, to get together every thing of Mr. Waller's that is not put into the former collection: so that between both the reader may make the set complete.

It will perhaps be contended after all, that some of these ought not to have been published: and Mr. Cowley's decision * will be urged, that a neat tomb of marble is a better monument than a great pile of rubbish. It might be answered to this, that the pictures and poems of great masters have been always valued, though the last hand were not put to them. And I believe none of those gentlemen that will make the objection would refuse a sketch of Raphael's, or one of Titian's draughts of the first sitting. I might tell them too what care has been taken by the learned to preserve the frag-

* In the Preface to his Works.

ments of the antient Greek and Latin poets: there has been thought to be a divinity in what they said; and therefore the least pieces of it have been kept up and revered like religious reliques. And, I am sure, take away the *mille anni**, and impartial reasoning will tell us there is as much due to the memory of Mr. Waller as to the most celebrated names of antiquity.

But, to waive the dispute now of what *ought* to have been done; I can assure the reader what *would* have been, had this edition been delayed. The following poems were got abroad, and in a great many hands: it were vain to expect that, amongst so many admirers of Mr. Waller, they should not meet with one fond enough to publish them. They might have staid, indeed, till by frequent transcriptions they had been corrupted extremely, and jumbled together with things

* Alluding to that verse in Juvenal,

— Et uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos — Sat. vii.

“ And yields to Homer on no other score
“ Than that he liv'd a thousand years before.”

C. DRYDEN.

of another kind: but then they would have found their way into the world. So it was thought a greater piece of kindness to the Author to put them out whilst they continue genuine and unmixed; and such as he himself, were he alive, might own.

LET-

LETTER from the Earl of SUNDERLAND * to
Dr. CHETWOOD, Dean of Gloucester.

S I R,

Whitehall, Nov. 11, 1708.

I Depend upon your goodness to pardon this trouble, which I should not give you were it not upon a public account. The Con-

* This Letter is preserved, in order to elucidate an important period of Dr. Atterbury's history. It appears, from the anxiety expressed by the leaders of the Whig Ministry, that he was considered as a most formidable adversary; and their champion Abel Boyer acknowledges that the Convocation was unexpectedly prorogued on purpose that Atterbury might not be elected Prolocutor. In 1710, however, the Ruling Powers were changed; and Dr. Atterbury secured the office by a great majority, though Dean Kennet very strenuously opposed him. The new Prolocutor was presented to the Archbishop Dec. 6, 1710; on which occasion the elegant speeches of Atterbury and Smalridge (vol. I. p. 303—318) were addressed to the Metropolitan. On the Sunday following (Dec. 10.) Mr. Harley invited Dr. Atterbury to dine with him, on purpose (if possible) to obviate any difference that might arise between the two Houses of Convocation. Two days after, the Archbishop was honoured with a letter from the Queen, with the same conciliatory views; which her Majesty had

Convocation, you know, meets upon to-morrow sevensnight, where there will be two competitors set up for the chair of Prolocutor, Dr. Atterbury, and Dr. Willis dean of Lincoln. As for the first, his character is too well known for me to say any thing to it: the latter, I will venture to say, is qualified with all the abilities necessary for such a post, as well as of known zeal for her Majesty's government, and the Established Church; and of such a temper and prudence as would tend towards healing the divisions in the Church, rather than widening of them. I have ventured to give you my opinion very frankly; and if you are of the same, I hope

the mortification to see frustrated by an altercation about a joint address, which occasioned some further prorogations. On the 28th of February following, the Convocation (which, from various misunderstandings, attributed by Burnet principally to Dr. Atterbury, who had the confidence of the Chief Minister, had till then been interrupted) resumed their deliberations; of which the most material were the Message to the House of Commons on the want of Parish Churches in London, and the Representation of the present State of Religion. As both those papers were undoubtedly drawn up by Dr. Atterbury, they are preserved in the present collection.

you

you will be in town by the time appointed for the meeting of the Convocation ; and if you could engage Archdeacon Parsons in the same interest, it would be a double service to the public. I beg pardon for this trouble ; and shall be glad of all occasions of shewing with how much truth and esteem I am, Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

MESSAGE from the Lower House of Convocation to the Speaker* of the House of Commons.

Feb. 28, 1710-11.

IT was ordered by the Lower House of Convocation, That the Prolocutor, attended by Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury;

* William Bromley, Esq. the particular friend of Dr. Atterbury (see vol. I. p. 26.)—Mr. Bromley was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons at the same time that Dr. Atterbury was elected Prolocutor.—His son Clobery Bromley, Esq. died March 20, 1710-11 ; on which occasion the House adjourned for four days, “out of respect to the father, and to give him time, both to perform the funeral rites, and to indulge his just affliction.”

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Dr.

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Dr. Stanley, Archdeacon of London; Dr. Smalridge, Proctor for the Chapter of Litchfield; and Dr. Delaune, Proctor for the Diocese of Oxford, should wait upon Mr. Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, and impart to him the following message, agreed to by the said House *nemine contradicente*.

THO. ROUSE, *Actuar'*

Domus Infer' Convocationis.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE Lower House of Convocation have, with great satisfaction, taken notice of an instruction given by the Honourable House of Commons to a Committee [appointed to examine a petition of the Minister and Churchwardens of Greenwich, praying relief for the rebuilding of that church] to consider what Churches are wanting within the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof, and report the same to the House.

It was in our thoughts to have done what in us lay towards setting forward so pious a design; but we are glad to find ourselves happily prevented by the zeal of that Honourable House; which, at the time that they placed

placed you in the chair, gave us an earnest of their entire disposition to do every thing that might be for the honour and advantage of the Church of England.

We do, in the name of the whole Clergy of this Province, return our unanimous thanks to the Honourable the Commons, for this instance of the affectionate regard they have shewn to the welfare of the Established Church, and the common interest of Religion *.

MR. SPEAKER,

I am directed by the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation to signify their readiness to promote the work now in view, by im-

* In consequence of this message, the Commons resolved, "That this House will receive all such informations as shall be offered to them from the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation, with relation to the want of Churches in the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof. Secondly, That this House will, in all matters immediately relating to Religion, and the welfare of the Established Church, have a particular regard to such applications as shall at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation assembled, according to the antient usage, together with the Parliament."

On the 10th of March the Speaker acquainted the Commons, "That the day before, in the even-

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imparting such lights as they are able to afford, in relation to the extreme want of churches in and about these populous cities, under which we at present labour.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Prolocutor.

evening, Mr. Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation came to him, and, by their order, delivered to him a scheme of the number of churches and chapels, and meeting-houses, within twenty-seven of those parishes in and near the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, where additional churches were judged to be most wanted ; together with a probable calculation of the number of families and souls within those several parishes, which they desired might be laid before this house :” And the title thereof being read, the said scheme was referred to the consideration of a Committee already appointed for that business.

On the 29th of March a message was sent from the Queen ; and on the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved, “ That, in the several parishes in and about the suburbs of the cities of London and Westminster, fifty new churches are necessary to be erected, for the reception of all such as are of the communion of the Church of England, computing 4750 souls to each church.”

REPRE-

REPRESENTATION

OF THE

STATE OF RELIGION;

Drawn up by a joint Committee of both
Houses of Convocation *, in March,
1710-11.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, the Archbishop, the Bishops, and
the Clergy, of the Province of Can-
terbury, in Convocation assembled, are deeply
sensible

* The Convocation (as Bp. Burnet represents the matter) having entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a Committee being appointed to draw up a Representation of the present State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured that the drawing up of this might be left to him. The Lower House, he adds, agreed to Atterbury's draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another Representation to be drawn. But it was not settled which of these two draughts should be made use of, or whether any Representation at all should be made

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sensible of the many blessings and advantages of your gracious and prosperous reign : amongst which there is none that more affects us than the tender care and concern shewn by your Majesty for the flourishing state of Religion, and the godly zeal you have expressed against the wicked practices of those who, by loose and prophane principles openly propagated among your subjects, have endeavoured to undermine and destroy it.

to the Queen. Abel Boyer, in his "Memoirs of Queen Anne," speaking of this affair, tells us, "The leading men among the Clergy, especially those who sought after honour and preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Ministry, and to strengthen the House of Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr. Atterbury had a deep share in this business, and led most of the clergy by his pretended zeal for their interests. This Representation was very long, and contained a great deal concerning the atheism and irreligion of the times, which they ascribed chiefly to the late growth of heresy and schism, and to the printing of wicked and atheistical books, which tended to promote many dangerous opinions ; the fault being laid chiefly on those who had been lately in power." The Representation in question, though never presented, was yet printed and dispersed ; and soon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intituled, "The Nation vindicated from the Aspersions cast on it in a late pamphlet, intituled, A Representation of the Present State of Religion, &c."

We

We are thankful to ALMIGHTY GOD, who hath put it into your Royal heart to repress these daring and impious attempts; and for that end to call upon your Clergy for their council and assistance.

It is, on many accounts, our duty to do the utmost that in us lies towards promoting so excellent a work. We have, therefore, applied ourselves with diligence to consider the matters to us referred; and do now, in obedience to your Royal commands, humbly lay before your Majesty,

A REPRESENTATION of the present State of Religion among us, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Prophaneness.

WE cannot, without unspeakable grief, reflect on that deluge of impiety and licentiousness which hath broke in upon us, and overspread the face of this Church and Kingdom, eminent in former times for purity of faith and sobriety of manners.

The source of these great evils, as far back as we have traced it, seems to have been, that long unnatural Rebellion, which loosened all the bands of discipline and order, and over-
turned

turned the goodly frame of our ecclesiastical and civil constitution.

The hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and variety of wild and monstrous errors, which abounded during those confusions, begat in the minds of men (too easily carried into extremes) a disregard for the very appearances of Religion, and ended in a spirit of downright libertinism and prophaneness, which hath ever since too much prevailed among us. It was, indeed, checked and kept under for a time, by the legal restraints laid on the press, and by the just dread of Popery, which hung over our heads: but as soon as these fears were removed, and those restraints were taken off, it broke out with the greatest freedom and violence.

There have not been wanting, God be praised, the hearty endeavours of good men, to resist the growth of these spreading evils. Books have been written in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of Natural or Revealed Religion, with great clearness and strength of argument; the vain pleas of the several advocates for infidelity have been particularly considered and refuted; societies have been formed, and funds of charity raised,

for

for the propagation of our holy faith, for the pious education of poor children, and for the increase of Christian knowledge, by plain and useful discourses, distributed among the meaner sort with great variety and number. Authority hath often interposed for the countenancing these excellent designs, for withstanding the bold attempts, and preventing the farther increase of irreligion and prophaneness. To this end, royal injunctions and proclamations have issued, acts of parliament have passed, prosecutions at law have been ordered, gracious speeches from the Throne have been made; and from thence such bright patterns of piety and virtue have shone forth as would, in any age less profligate than this, have diffused their happy influence through all orders of men among us.

But it must be confessed, that all the endeavours which may hitherto have been used, by public or private persons, to stop the growth of this evil, have proved ineffectual. In the midst of such discouragements, infidelity hath taken deep root, and, being cultivated with care, hath spread its branches wide, and shot up to an amazing height, and brought forth fruits in great abundance.

We

We forbear to wound your pious ears by a particular mention of those many blasphemous passages which have been published from the press. Nevertheless, in discharge of the trust reposed in us by your Majesty, we think ourselves obliged to lay before you some account of the various steps taken to undermine the foundations of Christianity, and to infect the minds of your people with Atheism, Deism, Heresy, and every pernicious and destructive error. We shall proceed afterwards to consider the dark and subtle METHODS by which this mystery of iniquity hath been carried on; to enquire into the causes which have chiefly and most immediately given birth to it, and into the consequences with which it has been attended; and then, in all humility, to propose such remedies as we think may be most effectual for the cure of it.

The dispute with our enemies of the Church of Rome (managed with so much honour and advantage to the Church of England) was no sooner happily ended, but other adversaries arose, who openly attacked the fundamental articles of the Catholick Faith, and

scattered the poison of Arian and Socinian heresies through all the parts of this kingdom.

The doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the GODHEAD was then denied and scoffed at; the satisfaction made for the sins of mankind by the precious blood of CHRIST was renounced and exploded; the ancient Creeds of the Church were represented as unwarrantable impositions, and treated with terms of the utmost contumely and reproach. And the divulgiers of these wicked errors and blasphemies proceeded with as little disguise and caution as if some new law had been made in their favour; notwithstanding that care had been taken, by those who passed the Act of Indulgence, expressly to exclude THEM from the benefit of it.

In defiance of this act, and of all the laws then in force, they not only owned their pestilent errors, but set up for making proselytes, by a multitude of wicked books and pamphlets, which for some years they dispersed from the press, without controul or discouragement.

They at last proceeded so far as even to set up a Religious Assembly, where divine

worship was publicly performed in a way agreeable to the principles of the Unitarians, and weekly sermons were preached in defence of them.

Nor have these Hereticks been withheld by the public notice lately taken of their wicked position, from venting them anew, and with yet greater boldness. Even at the time when we are thus met by your Majesty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter, to consult of methods for repressing such impieties, a book hath been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine is avowed and maintained, and a promise is made of evincing the truth of it, by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatises from the same hand, which are soon to follow. To this book the author * hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of this Province in Convocation assembled; being, as we have some reason to believe, supported in this undertaking, and encouraged to prosecute it, by the liberal contributions and insidious applauses of those who are the determined enemies of all religion and goodness.

* Mr. Whiston.

It

It was by such men as these that the Socinian tracts, when first published, were much countenanced and recommended: for they well knew, that, the chief articles of the Christian faith being once shaken, a way would by that means be opened, and the minds of men prepared, for the attacks which might afterwards be made on Christianity itself, and into which the Socinian controversy soon was improved.

For the books written in an argumentative way against the Divinity of our blessed LORD did, in a little time, produce others of a worse spirit and tendency; wherein the doctrines by him revealed were spoken of with profane levity and contempt, his humiliation and sufferings were derided, his person was blasphemed, and treated with as great indignity and scorn as when he stood at the judgement-seat of Pilate.

The Godhead of the HOLY SPIRIT being first denied, all supernatural operations on the hearts of men were afterwards questioned, and the grace of God was ridiculed; all mysteries in Religion were exploded, as absurd and useless speculations, as implying contradictions, and meaning nothing, and therefore

as incapable of becoming objects of assent to reasonable minds.

The scheme of morality proposed by the Gospel was undervalued, and said not to be beyond the reach of human invention; the Mosaic account of the Creation was represented as mere allegory and fable; the natural immortality of the soul was opposed, as a vulgar and groundless error; the inspiration of holy writ was so explained as amounted to the denial of it; the authority of the present canon of Scripture hath been represented as standing upon a very precarious foundation; the spuriousness of several passages, and some books of it, was more than insinuated. Priests without distinction were traduced, as imposers on the credulity of mankind, vilified and insulted, as the filth and off-scouring of all things; and those religious ordinances which they were appointed to dispense, even the chief of them, Baptism and the Supper of the LORD, were spoken of with such a degree of ungodly mockery and insolent scorn, as filled the hearts of good Christians with horror and astonishment. Nay, Religion itself was, in some of their loose writings, so de-

described, as if it were nothing but a melancholy frenzy and pious enthusiasm.

The grounds of believing the Gospel in this age have been represented as less firm and certain by a pretended calculation of the degrees, according to which the credibility of the traditional facts related in Scripture must every age decrease. The necessity of all human thoughts and actions, as being meer modes of motion, and the results of pure mechanism, hath been asserted: an assertion which overturns the foundations of all Religion, whether natural or instituted; and renders all notions of good and evil, of reward and punishment, whether in this life or the next, groundless and vain.

Nor ought we, among the several instances of infidelity, and of the approaches made towards it, to omit the mention of those damnable errors which have been embraced and propagated by the sect of Quakers; who, in several of their treatises, in their Catechisms and Primers, have taught the rudiments of the Christian Faith in such a manner, as to make it seem to be little more than a complicated system of Deism and Enthusiasm,

From the wicked principles thus diffeminated as wicked practices have followed : for though it may with truth be affirmed, that the good Christians among us were never better than now ; yet can it not withal be denied, that the bad were never worse ; and that the instances of a profane and dissolute behaviour have of late years been very numerous and very scandalous.

The frequency of oaths and imprecations, the manifest growth of immorality and profaneness, have made new laws, new edicts, necessary to restrain these enormities, which yet have not been effectually restrained by them.

Seldom hath greater vigilance been used by the civil magistrate to secure a religious observance of the Lord's-day ; nor hath it, among the meaner sort, proved unsuccessful. However, it hath not banished excess and luxury at such times from the tables of the great, nor hindered them from wasting those sacred hours in play and vain amusements.

The excesses of gaming have never been more general and flagrant ; conscience hath never been more openly prostituted to interest,

rest, without any regard to censure; the extremes of avarice and profusion have never, at the same point of time, been more remarkably prevalent.

A due regard to religious persons, places, and things, hath scarce in any age been more wanting. The ministers of CHRIST have often been treated in a way very unsuitable to their sacred function and character; horrid outrages have been committed by loose and disorderly persons in the house of God; the solemn Feasts and Humiliations of the Church have been matter of sport to lewd and godless men, who have taken pleasure in ridiculing them, and affronting the authority by which they were appointed: unnatural and abominable impurities, not to be named among Christians, have been publicly practised; and the debauches of licentious men have been indulged to such a height, as to end in all manner of blasphemy and profaneness.

This sad harvest we have reaped from those seeds of infidelity which the enemy have sown among us: with what industry and zeal, by what dark and subtle methods, this

mystery of iniquity hath been carried on, we beg leave in the next place to represent.

That contributions have been made, that combinations of men have been formed, for promoting the cause of infidelity, we have heard; nor do we doubt the truth of those reports: having observed, that late measures taken to advance irreligion have been, in many respects, so uniform and regular, that they seem to have been concerted; not to have sprung merely from the casual contradiction and divided efforts of particular persons, but rather to have been the result of united counsels and endeavours.

Thus, we are sure, the Socinians and Quakers took care of the interests of their several sects, and spread their distinguishing tenets: nor do the present factors for infidelity and libertinism appear to be either less zealous for the attaining their end, or less skilful in the choice and application of the means that lead to it.

The methods they have pitched upon to this purpose have been various: some of them such as had a more immediate tendency to the point they aimed at; others that were covered

covered with very artificial pretences and disguises.

By mock Catechisms, framed in a light manner, upon vain and trifling subjects, they have endeavoured to depreciate those excellent summaries of the Christian Faith, by which a right sense of religious truths is first instilled into the minds of children.

They have republished, and collected into volumes, pieces written long ago on the side of infidelity; which would have lain altogether neglected and forgotten, without such a revival.

They have reprinted together, in the most contracted manner, many loose and licentious poems, in order to their being purchased more cheaply, and dispersed more easily; and have, by that means, conveyed the infection to great numbers of men, who would otherwise have lain without the reach of it.

They have procured abstracts and commendations of their own profane writings (and probably drawn up by themselves) to be inserted in Foreign Journals; and then have translated them back again into the English tongue, and published them here at home,

home, in order to add the greater weight to their wicked opinions.

They have endeavoured utterly to root out of men's minds all notion of a Church, as a society instituted by CHRIST, with peculiar powers and privileges, and officers of its own to administer the affairs of it. They have done their utmost to blend and confound this spiritual society with the temporal, on purpose to make every thing in Religion, its divine truths, and most sacred ordinances, dependant on the will of the civil magistrate, deriving solely from him their sanction and authority.

And of all Churches, our own is that against which they have planted their chief batteries, and directed their fiercest assaults; not as judging it more faulty than others (for they themselves allow it to be the least exceptionable of any); but as knowing it to be the strongest fence and bulwark against Infidelity, the principal pillar and stay of pure undefiled Religion.

They have therefore charged the authentic Articles of this Church, and the English editions of the Bible, with pious frauds and forgery ;

gery; that men might be taught gradually to withdraw the reverence due to their spiritual guides, and of course to suspect whatever comes recommended from their hands.

As to other sects and denominations of Christians differing from the Established Church, and now tolerated among us, the crew of Libertine Writers hath been observed to pursue them with a degree of malice and bitterness, proportioned always to the degrees of tendency which their respective principles have to support and strengthen the interests of Religion, by uniting large numbers of Christians in national Churches and Communions.

Sometimes, by displaying the cheats and impositions of Pagan and Popish priests, they have endeavoured to draw infamy on the Priesthood in general, and to render the Order itself, in what Religion soever it was found, equally the object of public aversion and contempt.

At other times, when wild pretences to inspiration and miracles have been set up by modern impostors, they have seemed to countenance the fraud, and give credit to it; with
a view

a view of drawing parallels from thence, to the prejudice of real Inspirations and Miracles.

They have, in a grave and solemn manner, recounted the fabulous relations of miracles occurring in Heathen Writers ; they have represented these accounts as carrying some of the chief marks and signatures of truth ; and easier to be contemned than disproved, upon the foot of the arguments urged in behalf of the truth of Christianity.

They have, with ostentation, enumerated the several spurious treatises forged in the earliest ages of the Church ; which they represent as times of great fraud and imposture on the one hand, of great ignorance and credulity on the other ; and they have left this reflection to be applied by their readers to the Books of the New Testament, and the authors of them.

The promises of Scripture have, by one of these writers, been interpreted in such an extravagant and absurd sense, as was intended to render them uncertain and unintelligible ; and a plea hath been advanced in behalf of the privilege of being translated to heaven without

without dying, according to the terms of the Covenant of Grace, with a design to insinuate, that our title to the other privileges and promises of the Gospel is founded on no surer a bottom.

Under the cover of accounting for the growth of Deism, and specifying the causes of it, they have taken occasion to suggest all those bitter and spiteful reflections which they thought might redound to the dishonour of our holy Religion, and wound it through the sides of its professed servants and followers.

Their received maxim is, that “no good “is to be expected from ecclesiasticks, but by “their divisions;” and therefore, if differences happen at any time to arise among the Clergy, their constant practice hath been to foment and inflame them, by turning advocates for the one side against the other; whereas, in truth, they themselves were alike enemies to both, and were also in like manner detested by both of them.

When particular and unwarrantable opinions have, at any time, been maintained by men otherwise eminent for piety and learning,

ing, the friends of infidelity have not failed to lay hold of that opportunity, and improve it to the prejudice of Religion. Those very persons, whose learned labours in defence of our common Faith they had before undervalued, and held in the utmost contempt, they began now to extol, and pretended to revere for the sake of their errors; their deep judgement they admired, their integrity they magnified, and appealed to their authority as decisive in favour of a paradox, when they would have refused to be concluded by it in any other point whatsoever.

We pretend not to have made a full discovery of all the dark and subtle wiles by which the instruments of Satan have endeavoured to establish his kingdom, and to introduce a general looseness of principles and practices among us: but these, which we have now laid before your Majesty, are too obvious and manifest not to be observed and complained of by us.

However, neither these, nor any other wicked arts and methods, how craftily soever contrived, and how industriously soever pursued, would have met with so remarkable success,

success, had not other causes and circumstances concurred to help forward the event, and favour the growth of irreligious opinions.

Among the chief of these, we reckon the removal of that restraint which the wisdom of former times had laid upon the press; and which no sooner ceased, than those pernicious principles, that before had been whispered only in corners, among the dissolute and lawless, were now proclaimed in our streets, and sent abroad to pollute the minds of your Majesty's subjects in all parts of your dominions.

The meanest and most ignorant of the people, who had any degree of curiosity and leisure, were then tempted to employ it in searches for which they were no ways qualified; they were furnished every day from the press with objections against Religion; and taught to doubt of those truths, which it had otherwise never once entered into their hearts to question.

This general liberty of the press happened not long after the time when, by reason of confusions and disorders that usually attend great changes of state, the reins of government

ment were unavoidably slackened, and parties of men were suffered to express their mutual resentments, and manage their debates against each other, with a freedom not often permitted or practised in more quiet and settled times. Mean while, the indulgence granted to men, of worshiping God in their own way, incited some publicly, and with warmth, to espouse those religious opinions, which others thought themselves bound, with equal warmth, to oppose. These contentions in matters of a civil and sacred nature bred in the minds of men, not well grounded in true principles, great perplexities and doubts; and gave an opportunity to those who "sat in the seat of the scornful," to promote the interests of Scepticism and Infidelity, by making sport with our divisions.

The licentiousness of the Stage is another fountain from whence the present corruptions of Religion and Morality have flowed. On our Theatres things sacred and serious have been handled after the most ludicrous manner; the Priesthood, the Holy Offices and Ceremonies of our Church, have been exposed to scorn; obscenity, blasphemous allusions

allusions to Holy Writ, and various sorts of profaneness have abounded: the worst examples have been placed in the best lights, and recommended to imitation; and the vicious images thus painted to the life, and set out with all manner of advantage, have made such impressions on the minds of the young and the unwary as are not easy to be effaced.

For the better diffusing the infection, new theatres have been raised; and, at the opening of them (an expensive and magnificent structure) the building of Churches was impiously derided as a vain and useless work, the effect only of superstition and ignorance.

God be thanked, at that very time a different spirit prevailed; and great sums of money were by public authority provided, and applied for the building, supporting, and adorning of Churches: and we cannot but hope but this glorious work, which your Majesty, at our humble request, was graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament; in the advancement of which the zeal of your Parliament, influenced by that of your Majesty, hath already made so great

a progress, will be speedily accomplished by an ample provision for the wants of that kind, under which the inhabitants of these two populous cities have hitherto laboured. They have now, for a long track of time, year after year, exceedingly increased, without a proportionable increase of the Churches and Chapels appointed to receive them: by which means vast numbers of souls have been excluded from a possibility of attending on the public worship of God, and from all the benefits of Christian instruction. And the natural consequence of this hath been a gradual defection from Piety and Virtue to irreligious Ignorance, and all manner of loose and licentious living.

To the increase of which they also contributed who took occasion, from the relaxation of those laws which made absence from the Established Church penal, to withdraw themselves entirely from all religious assemblies; although that very act of exemption, which gave liberty in the one respect, equally restrained it in the other.

Nor hath the long continuance of that just and necessary war, in which your Majesty is
now

now engaged (and which, we trust, God will enable you to finish as gloriously as you have hitherto carried it on), been unattended with consequences prejudicial to the interests of Religion and Goodness.

That this might not be our own case, your Majesty was pleased to use your powerful influences with the States of Holland, and to employ your royal bounty for the building of a Church, in which your subjects might serve God abroad with the same decency and order as at home, and be instructed in such religious principles as might preserve them from the contagion of those vices to which a military life is too much exposed. But notwithstanding this design piously is intended by your Majesty, and so readily promoted by the liberal contributions of your subjects in the army, we cannot but lament that foreign vices, too easily learnt in the camp, have from thence spread themselves, by little and little, through the several ranks of men at home, and occasioned a visible increase of luxury, libertinism, and profaneness. False notions of honour have made that reputable, which the religion of CHRIST utterly condemns ;

demns; and that infamous, which it commands under the highest penalties: so that they who still dare to own themselves Christians, by not sending a challenge when affronted, or not accepting it when sent, are really in a state of persecution, on the account of their strict adherence to CHRIST and his doctrine. The prevalence of such principles and practices doth, in our humble opinion, tend not only to the dishonour, but even to the disbelief of the Gospel, among those who are either persuaded that it is lawful and laudable, or, without such a persuasion, determined to act in contradiction to the plain precepts of it.

The emissaries from Rome have not been wanting to lay hold of this opportunity for the advancement of their cause; to which nothing is so serviceable as scepticism and looseness of life: and these, therefore, they have always encouraged to the best of their power. They have swarmed in our streets of late years, and have been very busy in making converts: and, since their known way of dealing in such cases is to bring men round to infallibility by the way of infidelity,

we

we doubt not but their subtle arts and restless endeavours of this kind may be reckoned one cause of the present growth of Irreligion among us.

Other causes have also concurred: as, the want of a vigorous execution of those laws, proclamations, and injunctions, which were piously framed; and the faint and ineffectual prosecution of some notorious offenders; by which means, what was designed to curb and restrain their insolence tended rather to heighten and nourish it.

Nor are we insensible how much Religion hath suffered by vain pretences to fathom those depths of Divine Wisdom which are unsearchable, and to advance nice explications of mysteries which are inexplicable; by the misapplication of mathematical reasoning to matters of mere revelation; by the attempts made to shew how all the steps taken in that great work of Omnipotence, the creation of the world, were to be accounted for by the known laws of motion; and that the destruction of it, by the deluge, might in like manner be explained; for the tendency of such attempts hath been to confine the

thoughts of men to second causes, and to intimate how little the wisdom of God was concerned in making the world.

But these, and such causes as these, having a less general and discernible influence towards producing the evils complained of; we have chosen rather to rest in the consideration of those which are more extensive and apparent, and have been remarkably fruitful of the ill consequences which we are next to lay before your Majesty.

The dishonour which the late excessive growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness, hath brought on our holy Faith, our Church, and Nation, is too great to be disregarded, and too manifest to be dissembled. The Gospel cannot but be blemished by this reflection, that at a time when the strongest evidences of its Divine Original have been produced, and set in the fairest light, so many should revolt from it. Our Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution must needs undergo reproach; as if we either wanted laws to punish such enormities, or zeal to turn the edge of those laws upon daring offenders.

It is lamentable to reflect how many souls have been lost by imbibing wicked doctrines
from

from those books which have been scattered for several years with impunity through this kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near approaches towards infidelity, though they have not as yet actually arrived to it; what a spirit of indifferency and neutrality in Religion hath been infused through such vehicles into the minds of men, and hath at last so far prevailed as to become the distinguishing character of the age we live in.

We doubt not but that divers of your Majesty's subjects, either by the scandal arising from the late observable growth of profaneness, or by sharing the contagion of it, have at last been perverted to Popery; and we are sure that many of them have been made worse men and worse subjects by the means of it; for Infidelity, where embraced, cancels all the strongest obligations of duty, and dissolves those religious bands of obedience by which the thrones of princes are best secured, and their authority most firmly supported. And therefore we cannot but observe to your Majesty, that they who derided Churches, and Creeds, and Mysteries, were

the same who insulted the memory, and justified the murder, of the Royal Martyr; applauded the rebellion raised against him, and have taken a great deal of wicked pains in collecting and publishing the works of those writers who were the most declared and irreconcilable enemies to Monarchy.

But the worst consequences of our impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the displeasure of ALMIGHTY GOD; who may justly, on their account, be provoked to visit us with his severest judgements, by stopping the continued current of success with which he hath hitherto blessed our affairs, and delivering us into the hands of our enemies, by withdrawing the pure light of his Gospel from us, and letting in the abominations of Popery among us.

Our only comfort under this sad prospect is, that, as far and wide as the infection hath spread, there are many still left, who continue untainted by it; many who, imitating the pious example set by your Majesty, "hold
" fast the profession of their Faith, without
" wavering," and adorn it with all manner of Christian Graces and Virtues, in the midst
of

of a perverse and crooked generation. For the mighty growth of Infidelity hath been attended with one good consequence, among divers ill ones; that the zeal of devout persons hath thereby been excited to do every thing that in them lay towards resisting and stemming this torrent of impiety. Nor have their endeavours been fruitless; our eyes daily see the public and happy effects of them: Divine Service and Sacraments have of late been oftener celebrated, and better frequented, than formerly; the catechising of youth hath been more generally practised, and with greater success: vast sums have been furnished by private contributors, to sustain the charge of educating poor children in a pious and useful manner; and many other new and noble institutions of charity have been set on foot, of which some mention was made in the entrance of the account now laid before your Majesty.

Of these we already feel the good influence, and hope that they may hereafter prove a remedy equal to the disease under which we labour. In the mean time, other methods of redressing these great mischiefs may, we
humbly

humbly conceive, be successfully tried; such as the course of the foregoing reflections, and your Majesty's great wisdom and piety, have already suggested to you.

We entertain not the least doubt of your Majesty's firm resolution to render the laws and edicts set forth for the suppression of immorality and profaneness useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the stage, which have been so instrumental in vitiating young and innocent minds, and have given matter of so just offence to all serious and devout Christians. And we promise ourselves, from the happy application of these remedies, which your Majesty alone is able (and not more able than willing) to apply, great and durable effects.

We are entirely persuaded, that your Majesty will, in the most effectual manner, discountenance all such persons as are profligate in their lives, or the known abettors or spreaders of impious opinions, by excluding them from all marks of your royal favour; and the repeated assurances which your Majesty (whom God long preserve!) hath been
pleased

pleased to give to your people, of your care to transmit the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, as established by law, give us great hopes that our enemies of the Romish Communion will at last be effectually discouraged from attempting the ruin of that excellent Church, of which, under CHRIST, your Majesty is the chief Governor and glorious Defender.

With inexpressible satisfaction we reflect upon the noble provision made by the present Parliament for Fifty New Churches : and we please ourselves with a prospect of the ground which will every day be gained by this means upon Vice and Irreligion ; when all excuses for non-attendance on the public worship will be removed, and the law, which makes those who abstain from all sorts of religious assemblies still obnoxious to punishment, may be exerted in its utmost force, without giving just occasion of complaint to any man.

Nor are we without hope, that these our Synodical Assemblies, regularly and constantly held, may be one useful means of checking the attempts of profane men, and preventing the

the growth of pernicious errors ; especially if, by the authority or intervention of such Synods, some way might be found to restore the discipline of the Church, now too much relaxed and decayed, to its pristine life and vigour ; and to strengthen the ordinary jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, now too much restrained and enfeebled : both which ends, as far as they shall appear to be subservient to the interests of Religion and Virtue, and no ways to interfere with the laws and liberties of our country, we do not, under the propitious influence of your Majesty's Administration, despair of attaining.

But that for which we at present in most earnest and most humble manner address ourselves to your Majesty is, that, by your royal interposition, an act may be obtained for restraining the present excessive and scandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, or importing the like from abroad, in such manner as to the wisdom of your Majesty and your Parliament shall seem most expedient : for, as we take this to have been the chief source and cause of these evils whereof we now complain ; so we question not but that the removal

moval of it would be the most speedy and effectual cure of them *.

Our

* "This Representation," Abel Boyer tells us, "was not unanimously approved by all the members of the joint Committee, for some of them dissented to some parts of it; and other things were inserted in it by the Lower House not agreed to in the Committee. This draught of a Representation being laid before the Upper House for their approbation, several exceptions were made to it; for, besides the style, which by many was thought too florid and rhetorical, as well as some expressions too warm for so grave and venerable an assembly, the majority were of opinion that some faults asserted in it, and reflecting on the last Ministry, were not sufficiently and clearly made out, and that other matters were mentioned in it which were not cognizable by the Convocation, but only by the Civil Power." Another, as has been already mentioned, was drawn up by the Lords; which being transmitted to the Lower House for their approbation, the inferior clergy thought fit to adhere to the draught made by the joint Committee, after they had added other matters to it. Thus neither of these Representations was presented to the Queen; and the Convocation rose with the disreputation of doing nothing in so important a matter, so heartily recommended to them by the Queen.—Swift, in one of his Examiners, failed not shrewdly to charge the fault of this upon the Bishops, under pretence of lamenting that the unhappy stop that had been put to the

Our daily and fervent prayer to God is, that your Majesty may be the happy instrument of these and many other blessings to this Church and State; that you may be as prosperous in your designs against Infidelity and Vice here at home, as you have been in all your undertakings against the common enemy abroad; and may, by that means, add what alone is wanting to complete the glory, and crown the successes, of your ever-memorable reign!

designed Representation had given the enemies of our Holy Religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourselves against ourselves) a seeming occasion to deride our divisions.—In a former paper Swift had said, “If we may guess the temper of a Convocation from the choice of a Prolocutor, as it is usual to do that of a House of Commons by the Speaker, we may expect great things from that Reverend Body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a Gentleman of so much Piety, Wit, and Learning, for that Office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of Knowledge which are proper for it.”

ABSALON

ABSOLON ET ACHITOPHEL,
POEMA; Carmine Latino Donatum*.

AD LECTOREM.

En tandem, *Amice Lector* (quod dudum pollicitus sum) poema suis absolutum numeris! cui tamen supervacaneum duxi, moræ excusandæ gratiâ, aliquid præfigere. Id unice sollicitum me habet, ne tale fortasse videatur, quod nec jam debuerit emitti. Vale.

Nondum mystarum pia fraus eluserat orbem,
Nondum uni conjux porrexit ora capistro:
Sed similem amplexa est, naturâ urgente, maritum
Sponsaque, & innocuo residens in fornice pellex.

Tunc,

* Anthony Wood tells us, that Atterbury was assisted in this translation by Mr. Francis Hickman. They were both young Students of Christ-church, Atterbury being then but of two years standing, and Hickman only of one year. Another Latin version of this poem had been published at Oxford, in 1682, under the title of "Absalon & Achitophel. Carmine Latine Heroico," by Mr. William Coward of Merton College (afterwards a physician, and well known by his writings as a Freethinker). Of the two translations Wood gives this concise account, under the article COWARD: "He hath translated into Latin Heroic Verse the English poem called Absalom and Achitophel. Oxon. 1682, in five sheets in quarto, written by John Dryden, Esq. Poet Laureat to King Charles II. Mr. Coward being schooled for it in the college,

352 ABSOLON ET ACHITOPHEL.

Tunc, qui Judaicas rerum flectebat habenas
 Jessides, cœlo carum caput, integer ævi,
 Igne pari nuptas arsit servasque, Tonantis
 Ectypa fiderei, brevibus transcripta tabellis,
 Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni.

Imperii socios Michal gestabat honores,
 Sollicito (heu !) nimiùm tellus ingrata colono ;
 Sed reliquis impar : regi nam plurima mater
 Pensabat steriles numerofo pignore curas.

At quoniam non æqua Venus genialia casti
 Fœdera concussit lecti, male defuit, idem
 Qui foret & sceptri Jessæi, & sanguinis hæres.
 Hanc inter florentem annis titulisque catervam
 Absolon emicuit princeps, quo pulchrior alter.
 Non fuit Abramidum, Judæa neque induit arma.
 Credibile est, tantum cùm, non lævo omine divum,
 Moliretur opus, majore libidinis cœstro
 Impulsum, haud solitæ Veneri indulgisse parentem ;
 Ni forte egregium os, & pulchræ frontis honores

“ and his poem not being taken in the university, the title of it was
 “ caused by Thomas Word of New Coll. to be put in Thompson’s
 “ Intelligence of the 13th of June, 1682, as to have been written
 “ by Walt. Curle, of Hartford, Gent. The translation of the said
 “ poem, done by Francis Atterbury and Francis Hickman, of
 “ Christ-church, was extolled more than that of Coward.” In the
 epistolary dedication to Coward’s poem, addressed, “ Amico meo
 “ charissimo G. C. A. M. e Coll. M.” and signed “ G. C. dat.
 “ Hartford. Idib. Aprilis, 1682,” the writer professedly declares,
 that he had paid but little attention to quantity. The reader will
 be surprized, after this information, to be told that Coward’s ver-
 sion has, to this moment, been unjustly mistaken for Atterbury’s ;
 that it was printed at large for his by Curll ; and a specimen of it
 not only was printed in Stackhouse’s Life of him, but continues even
 in the improved edition of the “ Biographia Britannica.” It hence
 becomes an act of justice to preserve the genuine poem in this collec-
 tion of the Bishop’s Miscellanies.

Sors

Sors dederit, certi non irrita pignora regni.
 Illum etiam imberbem longè distantibus oris
 Bellica clarabat virtus, cùm vindice ferro
 Sustinuit patrii socialia fœdera regni.
 Pace, ducem excuriens, duri Mavortis amorem
 Dedidicit, dextrâque potens tractabat inermi
 Idalios arcus, & amica Cupidinis arma.
 Quicquid agat juvenis, nativo ac simplice cultu
 Splenduit. Olli omnis gestusque, & norma loquendi,
 Sponte suâ effluxit, mollique in pectore spirans,
 Gratia purpureos oculis afflavit honores;
 Et pulchrum enituit proles confessa parentem:
 Jussidæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.
 Hinc illi Annabalem, generoso sanguine cretam,
 Conjugio junxit stabili, propriamque dicavit.
 Omne nefas (quis enim vixit sine crimine?) cæcum
 Vel latuit, vel dixisses latuisse, parentem.
 Si fortè exundans juvenili effervuit æstu
 Sanguis, & immistas spumanti gurgite sordes
 Eluit, effrænâ pia lex hoc imputat annis.
 Usque cadas, Amnon; læsæ tamen hostia famæ
 Concidis: hoc tacitam prætexunt nomine culpam.
 Sic meritò plausûque virûm, studiisque faventûm
 Incaluit felix, annis labentibus, heros;
 Dùm placidos longâ populos in pace regebat
 Jussides. Sed enim nihil omni ex parte beatum est:
 Explorat justos duro sub verbere numen;
 Castigatque malos.—

Abramidæ duri, genus intractabile semper,
 Et varium; quos jam series exhausta favorum
 Incassum obruerat; longo gens ebria luxu,
 Ætheriisque tumens epulis, regumque deumque
 Contemptrix; olim formare edocta, novæque
 Jam bene tornatos incudi reddere divos:
 Heu! nimum, nimumque excussis libera frenis,
 Exanimés captant umbras, & somnia ficti
 Servitii. Sed cum latè regna omnia circum
 Prospicerent duri flagris subjecta tyranni
 Immunes ipsi; tum primum accensa libido
 Tesqua inculta sequi, & sylvestribus horrida dumis:
 Tum primum laudare viros, qui, more ferino,
 Indomitum nullis agitant sub legibus ævum.
 Scilicet hi, postquam cecidit pater, Ishosethum
 Impulerant raptis facilem decedere regnis:
 Hi regem, Hebronicis ageret cum finibus exul,
 Excipiunt reducem, & juncto clamore salutant.
 Hi tamen ingenii motus; nil præstitit unquam
 Intemerata fides. Verso nam cardine rerum,
 Arte laboratum mox damnant numen, & aris
 Imposi os queruli tandem indignantur honores.
 Quid vetuit fragiles foedare in pulvere divos,
 Quos manibus struxere suis? si fortè juveni
 Immanem aurati formam induat, & popularem
 In vitulum liquidi vanescat regis imago.
 Hactenus ambigui divisa opprobria vulgi
 Sparguntur; nondum collectis viribus agmen
 In scelus ibat ovans, junctæque umbone phalanges.

Pars populi, quorum melior sententia menti,
 Quos & certa quies, & pax tranquilla juvaret,
 Præteritique memor flebat, metuensque futuri.
 Necdum etiam exciderant animo discrimina regni
 Pristina, adhuc tristes inhonesto vulnere malas
 Spectat; adhuc veteris terrent vestigia cædis,
 Servatique iterum bellis civilibus anni.

Quo gemitu conversi animi in meliora ruebant,
 Et dubiam justo firmabant pondere lancem:

Quæque erat in vultu Jessæo gratia, belli
 Præripuit causas, & acerbi pectoris iras.

Sed cum animos stimulet peccandi occulta libido,
 Mox flatu Satanas sopitos ventilat ignes:

Lenonisque modo, optatos indulget amores.

Hinc *Causæ Veteris* foecundo è semine FOEDUS.

Vera an falsa licet jungantur fœdera, plebem
 Evehere ad fasces gaudent, excindere regem.

Urbs antiqua fuit (Jebici tenuere coloni)

Arx Syriæ indomitæ, nomenque & munia debens

Civibus indigenis: sed cum, volventibus annis,

Paulatim invaluit cœli delecta propago,

Vis juris mensura fuit. Tum, judice ferro,

Continuò fluere, ac retrò sublapsa referri

Res Jebiûm; fractæ vires, aversa Dei mens.

Lassati tandem bellis, fatisque repulsi,

Haud sponte Ifaciis summittunt ora lupatis.

Erepti census, oinnisque avulsa potestas;

Amiſſis crescunt nova vestigalia campis:

Et, quod adhuc gravius (crimenque caputq; malorum)

20H A a 3 Cœ-

Cœlicolùm cineres, uſtique injuria divi,
Sollicitant miſeros : ſedet hoc ſub peſtore vulnus,
Incenditque animos. Diverſo ſidere ritus
Quanquàm obeant myſtæ varios, fraus omnibus
una eſt.

Stet licet ignavum de ſaxo aut ſtipite numen,
Haud minùs hoc ipſum telis animiſque tuentur
Cultores, quàm ſi cælato viveret auro.

Atque adèò ſuper his, quanquàm inſenſiſſimus ordo,
Rabbini plaudunt : neque enim culpæ licebit,
Si divum audaces, à quo veſcuntur, adorant.

Hinc illæ lachrymæ, hinc, patriæ communis Erinnyſ;
CŒNCILIUM horrendum; cujus pars altera veris
Nititur indiciis, fictâ pars altera famâ.

Exceptum immodicis nunc plaufibus, & vice verſâ,
Nunc actum immodicis clamoribus : inde reſellunt

Defuncti, hinc vivi jurant in FOEDERA teſtes :

Necdùm vulgus iners metuendi viſcera monſtri

Rimatur : (non eſt ea cura) ſed indigeſtos

Arripit, atque avido ore incoſtos devorat artus. }

Vera fides rerum fictâ ſub nube laborat :

Scilicet arrifit populo, ſapientibus idem

Qui fuit indepreſus, & irremeabilis error.

Sera dies parili culpâ notat, omnia ſeu quis

Excipiat bibulâ, clauſâ ſeu reſpuat aure.

Niliacos coluit ritus Jebuſita ſacerdos :

Sanctum illic guſtu vigit ſub judice numen.

Quantus adorati ſapor eſt, quæ gratia divi,

Cùm famulis victum pariter cultumque miniſtret !

Hos

Hos ubi telorum pia vis obtrudere divos
 Non valuit (neque enim turmæ par unus ovari
 Congreditur) sacras artes, nova pectore versant
 Consilia; & cùm non stricto decernere ferro
 Auderent, solidis stant obnixa argumentis.
 Infert se nebulâ septus mirâ arte sacerdos
 Per medios, miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli;
 Usque venenatæ fatalia spicula linguae
 Perque aulam infamem jactans olidumque lupanar.
 Hinc justâ templi custos excanduit irâ,
 Ereptum plorans lanato cum grege vellus.
 Fama volat foetos nitrato turbine scloppos
 (Hæc quanquam seris procusa nepotibus arma)
 Intendisse necem regi: me judice, crimen
 In dubio est: sed cui notum, quo tristis Erynnys
 Præcipitet Jebios cædisque insana cupido?
 At conjurati sceleris quanquam exitus impar
 Principiis, vanusque furor; tamen usque reliquit
 Triste mali augurium, & diræ vestigia cladis.
 Febris ut exesas cum torreat igne medullas,
 Qui parco tremulam lavit modò flumine venam,
 Nunc tumidus latè furit, & spumantibus ardet
 Visceribus sanguis, plenoque exuberat æstu;
 Tunc membris excussa quies, tunc aggere rupto
 Profilit, atque immane fremit circumfluit humor.
 Haud aliter placido imperio quæ prima malorum
 Causa fuit, præco torpere haud passa veterno
 Excivit partes varias; subitoque tumultu
 Divisum traxit studia in contraria vulgus.

Multos laude cliens accenderat ; & sua multis
 Scilicet arrisit sapientia : protinus ollis
 Invisæ, quas non licuit gestare, secures.
 Pars, quos impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ
 Obruerat summi turbatos culmine regni,
 Ceu Lemures, animum diræ formidine culpæ
 Confirmant. Aliis, quos seditione potentes
 Antiquâ, urgebat meriti vicinia fati,
 Ignovit læsi regis favor ; inque merentes
 Admovit folio, & socios indulxit honores.
 Proh mentis scelus ingratae ! proh pectora nullis
 Devincta officiis, nullæ subjecta catenæ !

Vir gregis, & scelere ante alios immanior omnes,
 Achitophel, fera invisum per secula nomen ;
 Arcanos versare dolos non futilis auctor.
 Ingenium huic velox, audacia perditâ, virtus
 Nescia stare loco ; laudumque immensa cupido :
 Idem & dedecoris vindex acerrimus, Olli
 Dum nimis angustis animi vis ignea claustris
 Irrequieta furit, pygmæos deterit artus,
 Particulas animans nimiâ virtute pusillas.
 Ipse gubernator, tollentibus æquora nimbis,
 Bella notis indixit ovans ; sed viribus impar,
 Cùm placidum ventis staret mare, gaudet hiantem
 In brevia & syrtes præceps urgere carinam.
 Scilicet ingenii soror est infania ; utrinque
 Et gracilis cognata secat confinia limes.
 Unde etenim ille, opibus pollens, titulisque superbus,
 Occultas struat infidias, animumque fatiget

Con-

Confiliis, seramque daret per membra quietem?
 Unde illum infans juvet indulgere labori,
 Noctes atque dies nequicquam pectore curas
 Versantem, cum nunc gelidus tardante senectâ
 Sanguis hebet; frigenque effœtæ in corpore vires?
 Nempe ut divitias hæc per tormenta coactas
 Hæredi tradat fatuo, quem mente sinistrâ,
 Informes curas, & rerum ænigmata volvens,
 Progeniuit pater; hinc rudis indigestaque moles
 Profilit, horrendum ac visu mirabile monstrum,
 Plebeii illa eadem regnique & patris imago.
 Quin & mente duplex, & inexorabilis irâ
 Æstuat, Isacias ardens miscere ruinâ,
 Ad sua ni domitas diducat flagra, cohortes.
 Hinc triplicem rupto divulsit fœdere nodum,
 Ir for às raptos sceptri venalis honores
 Iussit, & externo patriam servire tyranno:
 Concussæ penitus regni tremuere columnæ.
 Inde metu trepidans, famæ tamen usque petitor,
 POPULICOLÆ arripuit sacrum & venerabile nomen.
 Nec cuiquam labor est, dum publica jura capeffit,
 Antiquum scelus, & privatam eradere labem.
 Tunc data libertas odiis, tunc fræna furori,
 Cum sceleris liceat populos habuisse patronos.
 Turba filet: ne si commissa piacula duris
 Castigent trutinis, justoque examine librent,
 Fortè suum pandant alieno in crimine crimen,
 Sed tamen & meritæ sunt hîc sua præmia laudi.
 Odimus incenso jactantem verba senatu;

Pro-

Prosequimur plausu scandentem immune tribunal.
 Causæ ille ancipiti vigiles intendit ocellos;
 Et nunquam ad positos vendit suffragia nummos.
 Litibus implicitum nullo gravis ære clientem
 Eripuit; tetricis non frons stetit aspera rugis:
 Sed visu facilis, dictuque affabilis iras
 Succidit rostri, & clamoræ jurgia linguæ.
 Quod si paciferae mentem explevisset opimam
 Cura togæ; si non glebæ prædivitis uber
 Infelix lolium, & steriles fudisset avenas;
 Haud pater erepti plorasset funera nati,
 Nec querulo attentos movisset pollice divos;
 Achitophel sacras daret alta in carmina vires,
 Illo Jessæ tremarent sub nomine chordæ.
 At levis ambitio gaudet, post terga relinquens
 Securum virtutis iter, per lubrica ferri,
 Ardua per, per iniqua &, fortunâ auspice, labi.
 Achitophel studiis torpere ignobilis otii
 Haud ultra patiens, & inertî incumbere famæ,
 Abnegat auricomos ramis decerpere foetus,
 Ni decus arboreum populari dissipet aurâ.
 Regem ergo, offensæ veteris reus, hostis arenam
 Provocat in mediam; & strictis stat cominûs armis:
 Elatóque tegens animosum umbone popellum,
 Ipse sub orbe latet. Gratam dehinc FOEDERIS ansam
 Arripuit; vano populum sermone replebat
 Gaudens, & pariter facta atque infecta canebat.
 Tùm monstris terrere novis, & spargere voces
 In vulgum ambiguas; immania ferre sub auras

Con-

Consilia, & Jebiûm laudantem jura tyrannum.
 Irritant animos hæc (quanquam vana serantur)
 Murmura sollicitos, & jampridem arma frementes.
 Scilicet implicitos dubiâ vertigine gyros
 Volvit (ut emensum cûm Luna redintegrat orbem);
 Et jam bis denis, vaga gens, redeuntibus annis,
 (Naturæ imperio) regalem alternat honorem.

Deerat adhuc *Causæ* princeps; fortissimus unus
 Absolon ante alios placuit: non ut nova possit
 Fama ducis nomenque virûm volitare per ora:
 (Nam neque patriciis amor est, nec lurida bilis)
 Sed quia, plebeios titulo poscente favores,
 Captaret supplex tumidi suffragia vulgi;
 Si fortè imperii paulatim elapsa potestas
 Regales turbæ informi submittrat habenas.
 Illi ergo Achitophel, nactus mollissima fandi
 Tempora, compositis permulcet pectora dictis,
 Occultum inspirans ignem, fallensque veneno.

“O deus Abramidûm, quo jam nascente cometes
 Tranavit liquidas augusto firmate nubes!
 O lux Isaciæ, spes O fidissima terræ!
 Alatâ populum nebulæ qui protegis umbrâ,
 Et regis ambiguos nocturnâ lampade gressus!
 Par Mofi ductor! cujus non debile sceptrum
 Melle novo, niveoque undantes flumine ripas
 Admoveret, atque ipsum vinc'lis ligat Ennosigæum*!
 Te, te venturum per sæcula longa nepotûm
 Præfagus cecinit non infausto omine vates.
 O desiderium populi commune, tuæque

* Sc. Neptunum.

Vox

Vox patriæ ! Juvenes de te sua somnia narrant,
 Delirique senes ; te publica vota parētem
 Ritè vocant ; in te gens inclinata recumbit ;
 Explerique animum nequit, ardescitque tuendo.
 Quà tendis, pictam solennes ordine pompæ
 Sponte viam sternunt, blæsq̃ue ad compita linguae
 Usque tuum ingeminant repetito murmure nomen.
 Expectate diu juvenis ; quid sera moraris
 Gaudia ? quid regni decus imperiumque paterni
 Temnis, & oblatas nondum moderaris habenas ?
 Usquē aded cordi est nudis gaudere faventū
 Laudibus, & plausæ sonitum virtutis amare
 Exanimem ? ignavūque agitas inglorius ævum ?
 Donec, quæ tremulos radiis præstrinxit ocellos
 Gloria, languescit moriens ; dubioque recessit
 Lumine, & in tenues paulatim evanuit auras.
 Crede, puer (nec vana loquor) se sponte solvent,
 Si non maturas decerpseris arbore fruges.
 Nempe omnes æquo fortimur numine divūm,
 Seriùs aut citiùs, fausti dispendia fati :
 Cujus ut ambages, & perplexum, arte magistrâ,
 Insequimur cursum, (Deus est sua cuique libido)
 Sors ruit in præceps, & per devexa viarum
 Radit iter liquidum ; levique in tramite labens
 Fertur in oppositam, celeri pede lubrica, metam :
 Indeprensa tamen, levibus perniciosior Euris
 Te fugit ; & longo cita deferit intervallo
 Attonitis inhiantem oculis, & multa volentem.
 Eja age, præcipiti nunc, nunc ruit obvia passu,

Dona

Dona manu, & fluxos pandens in fronte capillos.
 Ille tuus genitor, si non, felicibus usus
 Auspiciis, raptos sceptri afferuisset honores,
 Exul adhuc Gathicas chelyn increpuisset ad oras,
 Perfusus nequicquam oleo labente capillos.
 Te patris juvenile decus, te pristina virtus
 Excitet, emeritæ nolentem accedere laudi.
 En, grave ut Hesperiiis jam jam caput occulit undis!
 En, ut crescentes decedens duplicat umbras!
 Qualis nunc senior, quantum mutatus ab illo
 Davide, quem turba, ad ripas effusa, ruebat
 Expectans reducem; cum littora fervere latènt
 Prospiceres, omnemque rapi Jordanis arenam.
 Sorte pari, angelicæ quondam jactantior aulæ,
 Desuper impulsus ruit è superis laribus dux:
 Sorte pari, æthereos vanescere sensit honores.
 Languidus, & vastam traxit per inane ruinam.
 FOEDERE concusso (quo non præsentius ullum
 Sub reditu rebus dubiis affulserit omen)
 Quis populi rumor? quæ nunc opprobria jactat
 Vulgus iners? uno quondam constricta manipulo
 Agmina discussit Boreas; & turbine cæco
 Aura levis vacui torquet ludibria coeli.
 Nec metus est armis regem se opponere nostris,
 Præfidiis orbem, atque hostili indagine septum.
 Dic, in amicitiam coeant, & foedera jungant
 Niliacæ gentes: at non Hebræa juvenus
 Arma & opes Pharias, at non socialia castra
 Indignans feret, atque externi opprobria Martis.

Diversas agit interea sub pectore curas,
 Et notâ Pharaon molitur fraude supino
 Insidias regi, crescenti incendia bello.
 Sed neque Jessai comites socia agmina jungent
 Laturi auxilium Jebiis, gentique nefandæ.
 Esto tamen, pariles mittant in prælia turmas:
 Mox fractæ studiis, & adhuc Mavorte secundo
 Diffusient vires, Jessidæamque relinquent
 Hinc illinc aciem florentes ære catervæ.
 Me duce, subsidunt proceres regale perosi
 Imperium; sævitque animis ignobile vulgus.
 Auspice me, junctis feriunt clamoribus auras
 Relligio & nullo constricta licentia nodo.
 Quod superest, si te firmantem publica cernant
 Armis armatus, pariterque in bella ruentem,
 Quæ virtus alacres quæ spes arrecta cohortes
 Excitet! & quantis surgat tua gloria rebus!
 Nec laudis sonitum, & tenuem sine corpore vitam
 (Qualis vere novo hilares flos pascit ocellos
 Pictâ veste decens, & versicoloribus alis)
 Porrigimus; solido sceptri donabimus auro.
 Atque equidem ut fatear, longè fastigia regni
 Præstat, & oblatam, populo plaudente, curulem
 Scandere, quàm si atavos & avorum antiqua sonares
 Nomina, Noæi jactans chirographa ligni."

Finierat. Quid non juvenilia pectora cogit
 Laudis sacra fames, blandis accensa faventum
 Plausibus, & famæ stimulis excita futuræ?
 Imperii in terris quanquam non æqua libido,

Igneus

Ignæus est olli vigor, & cœlestis origo.
 Cùmque animos, superis gratissima cura, viriles
 Tangit honos, tantùm nimis alto pectore spirant
 Æthereum sensum, & divinæ semina flammæ.

Ignæ calens multo juvenis, mentisque animique
 Æmulus angelici, virtutis calle relicto,
 Fertur in obliquum; penitusque in corda receptæ
 Indulget famæ, popularique intumet aurâ.
 Assensu tandem dubio dum fluctuat heros,
 (Nam vel adhuc patriæ subiit pietatis imago)
 Incipit effari.—“ Quid me pro legibus arma
 Ferre juvet trepidis, libertatemque tueri?
 Ritè parens magnâ populos ditione gubernat,
 Ritè fidem vigil & sacratas protegit aras.
 Dilectum caput, Isacias justissimus unus
 Qui tenuit virgas, & servantissimus æqui;
 Cui Deus imperium firmat, cui militat æther.
 Quis pecus ereptum vacuis nunc plorat in arvis?
 Cui sua non justæ desertur causa querelæ?
 Millia quot facilis pesti devota futuræ
 Jussit adhuc spirare, & amicâ vescier aurâ?
 Quanto ille obnixus nostris molimine custos
 Invigilat curis! placidam quæ gratia frontem
 Temperat, & raro perfusos sanguine fasces?
 Sin nulla effrænas mollit clementia gentes,
 Usquè suum Divo defendit iudice crimen
 Jessides. Sed enim patrias acuisse secures
 Quid juvet, & duri flagro insonuisse tyranni?
 His Nilum premat imperiis; his sæviat armis

Trux Pharaô : Juvet hunc magnâ dominarier aulâ ;
 Hunc refides frænare animos, & inertia corda.
 Si tamen invisas genitor molitur habenas,
 Abramidis fatuos sub pectore fuscitat ignes
 Invida temperies cœli, & Sirius ardor.
 Mene acies ergo ducentem, me quoque tanget
 Communis furor, & scelerati infania belli?
 Judæos (esto) summi de culmine regni
 Trudat, & ereptâ Jebios in sede reponat ;
 Flere meum est : ultrâ ferar ? imperiosa coercet
 Luctantes natura manus, & temperat iras.
 Plebisçita suo licet asseruisse tribuno : [quæ
 Sanguine sed dextram hanc patriæ jus imbuît ; &
 Dimittent alios, capient me bella nocentem.
 Me pater extensæ cumulado munere dextræ
 Occupat ; et votis nondum spirantibus instat.
 Quò potuit facilis civem perducere princeps,
 Ascendi, supraque nihil nisi regna reliqui.
 Illa sed" (ingemuit, mediâque in voce recessit)
 " Marte ferox, & stirpe prior, sibi vendicat heros.
 Nam pater ut placidâ demùm sopitus in urnâ,
 Fila manu increpitans, cœlestem perfonet aulam,
 Angelici pars una chori ; mox integra proles
 Arripiet sceptrum, vel lævi tramitis hæres.
 Ille odiis quanquam populi jactatus iniquis,
 Usquè tamen fidens animi stetit omnia contra,
 Securûsque sui. Rerum quî sanctior ordo
 Hunc colit, & magnæ (fortissima pectora) turmæ
 Insignem virtute ducem, ac fulgentibus armis :

Turba

Turba gravem bellis dextram, & Mavorte secundo
 Terribilem celebrant externa; domestica, fidam:
 Obsequii, princeps; laudum præconia, spargit
 Perque orbem, perque astra superbæ buccina famæ:
 Hunc facilem plebs durâ canet, cùm fronte serenâ
 Surgentes animos, & amico temperet æstus
 Lumine, Jessæ stirpis non degener hæres.
 Ergone me parcas, & ineluctabile fatum
 Incusare juvet, quod non arriserit æther
 Nascenti, magno nec turgent sanguine venæ?
 Quanquam (O!) si dederit mihi me, si numen an-
 helanti

Aut aliud genus, aut alias sub pectore flammæ
 Sortitum, haud dubiâ submersum stirpe vigorem
 Fregerit: & tantos animæ restinxerit ignes!
 Fallor?—

An tumidus fervet circum præcordia sanguis?
 Illa patris virtus materno in limite claudi
 Indignata furit. Quid inertî compede cingor
 Semideus? parilem quid non infusa per artus
 Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet?
 Est hic, est animus, focii qui corporis ægras
 Vix patitur fordes; qui claustra invisa refugit;
 Imperii que capax arrectæ immurmurat auri:
 Regna petas, tantæ liceat succumbere culpæ:
 Regnandi superis non est ingrata libido."

Quem simul ac nutantem orci umbrarumque
 fatelles

Viderit, ut cessit vix tandem frigida virtus,

Instat anhelanti præceps, urgétque, præmítque,
Incendítque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.

“Haud tantas hominum divúmque æterna potes-
Ingenti frustrà cumulat sub pectore dotes. [tas

Quæ te fata manent ! quali tibi surgere regna

Auspicio cernes ! non his virtutibus alto

Mercedem imperio dederit fors æqua minorem :

Sic mea fulsisti, sic te tua lingua refellit.

Sed neque me patrii tranquilla potentia regni

Sollicitat : quanquàm sublimi fronte verendí

Regibus, & valido debentur sceptrà tyranno.

Quid quamvis lascivo indulget vota popello,

Et cumulat, quos non licuit meruisse, favores ?

At protensa manus pronos in munera reges

Arguit, & faciles ; genii, non pectoris, index.

Tùm datur excussis latè discurrere frænis,

Cùm manibus laxas auriga remittat habenas.

Quin age, fundat opes, exhaustæque incubet arcæ ;

Et frustrà cantum compellet voce senatum,

Donec, qui misero sictus protenditur, unà

Divulsum trahat imperium, & venalia jura.

Moliri infidiàs, & ruptæ scœdera pacis

Excutere, his humeris, si qua est, ea cura recumbet.

Et cùm æger loculo quadrans suspiret in imo,

Nos petet ; & sumptis ponet REGALIA nūnimis.

At nudo si quis lateri bonus hæret Achates,

Fautor (ne dubites) Jebiorum, & verna Canopi,

Audiet invisí : donec stipantibus orbum

Jessiden turmis scœdæ vaga buccina famæ

Con-

Concinat, & naso populus suspendat adunco.
 His super, hæredem (mihi formidabile nomen)
 Suspectumque dedi; & verbis odia aspera movi.
 Ipsa suum virtus nostris subjecta querelis
 Præcipitat dominum: ruit ingens mole suâ vir:
 Dum toto juvenes spargunt convitiâ pago;
 Atque hostem latè clamat longæva senectus.
 Venalis prostrabit honos, cadet hostia plenis
 Jus & fas loculis; nostroque litabitur auro.
 Inde tuum leges & plebiscita coacta
 Firmabunt titulum; Jussidæosque favores
 Eliciet duris urgens in rebus egestas.
 Sin ruat in lævum tantæ fiducia causæ;
 Sceptra tamen juncti dederint suffragia vulgi:
 Scilicet imperii (populi grave pignus) eodem
 Quo dantur fasces possunt authore revelli.
 Nec, quanquàm recto missus de tramite, plebem
 Jus habet in dominam, quem sors male destinat,
 hæres
 Quid quamvis avido solum prohibemus? at uno
 Vulnere communem juvat avertisse ruinam.
 Pridem animos experta suos Hebræa juvenus
 Haud feret humanis proscindi terga flagellis,
 Quæ prius ætherias audens excussit habenas.
 I nunc, & curas, & jus obtende paternum,
 Armorum scelus, & venturæ opprobria famæ:
 Vox populi, facilem cui nec Deus abnuit aurem,
 Spemque dabit menti dubiæ, solvétique timorem.
 Neve animos valeat pietas simulata viriles

Flectere; Naturæ sunt hæc documenta magistræ:
 Nempe catus genitor, longum quò proroget ævum,
 Oscula filiolo libans in imagine vivâ
 Se fover, inque suis se tantùm amplectitur ulnis.
 Vel patrium donis paribus testetur amorem,
 Vel dubias ultrà cesset prætere fraudes.
 Haud vano patrem luit Deus omine, sceptrum
 Qui dedit, æterni monumentum & pignus amoris.
 Credibile est imis pastorem arsisse medullis,
 Cui tam formosi pecoris dedit esse magistrum.
 Quòd si te gremio libuit fovisse paterno,
 Te-caram ante omnes sobolem, quid scepra merenti
 Abnegat; invisusque in regnum quæritur hæres?
 Ergone se curam cœli, pietatis alumnum
 Jactat? & hæredem titulo fraudare patronis
 Diis placuit? Fratri rerum commissa potestas,
 Te sterilis glebæ, emensi te jugera campi
 Agnoscent dominum; er, pleno dare vela favori
 Si juvet, accipies, quâ jam pater antè solebat
 Stridenti miserum citharâ disperdere carmen.
 Quinetiam folio qui proximus imminet hæres,
 Per tenues nebulas, per ficti nominis umbras,
 Aëriasque superficies vestigia longè
 Observata memor legit; & prospectat euntem:
 Et, quanquàm obductum premat alto corde dolorem,
 Usque agit infidias; et, quas tacet, asperat iras,
 Utque leo, quem jam collecta fatigat edendi
 Ex longo rabies, incautam fortè catervam
 Si videt, ille dolos oculis meditatur apertis,

Et vigil obliquo declinat lumina somno;
 Rugitus premit horridos, & contrahit unguis:
 Tandem ubi palantes juxta conspexerit hostes,
 Profilit è latebris, & fulvæ verbere caudæ
 Ductores ipsos cœlo capita alta ferentes
 Sternit humi præceps; neglectum vulgus, & omnem
 Hùc illùc miscet nemora inter frondea turbam.
 Ergo age, rumpe moras; certandum est cominus
 armis;

Sat paci precibusque datum. Stet frangere bello
 Hostiles acies, aut certæ occumbere morti.
 Stringe manu ferrum: defensæ sanguine vitæ
 Absolvēt natura scelus. Torpescere vulgo
 Nec vacet, & duos armorum expendere casus,
 Ne taciti sudēt, ne provida pectora terror
 Occupet; & nondùm commissō Marte recedant.
 Admotam arripas falcati temporis ansam;
 Dùmque pater superest, dubii jus asserere regni;
 Neu quis scire dolos possit, te finge parentis
 Devotum caput armato custode tueri;
 Quem conjuratis in aperta pericula turmis
 Hinc raperent hostes, hinc cæcâ fraude clientes,
 Et quis Jessæ referet penetralia mentis?
 Fortè vetat timor, & placito luctatur amor.
 Usquē licet juncti communia fœdera lecti
 Incendant animum, & stimulos sub pectore ver-
 Vincit eura sui, fraternæque impetus iræ. [sent;
 Atque adeò vetitos jubet extorquere favores,
 Ipse minax: ut quæ dubiis succumbere votis

Ardet amans meretrix ; et, quos fugit, allicit ignes.
 Sit via vi : mistâ cùm jàm subriserit irâ,
 Aggredere ; & gratas luctanti immitte catenas.
 Quâ regem spoliâs, tibi fas sperare salutem ;
 Et captiva suum comitantur jura tyrannum."

His dictis blandâ lapsus per viscera flammâ
 Incensum miro juvenem inflammabat amore.
 Purus adhuc sceleris (nisi quod scelus esset amari),
 Nec fastu tumidus, fuso nec sanguine gaudens,
 Vixerat (heu !) quantâ notus super æthera famâ,
 Si purum hausisset venis & sanguine regem ;
 Natalesve forent, cœlo ridente, minores.
 Dignâ quidem incaluit generoso in pectore virtus,
 Quæ gravidam imperiis gentem frænaret ; & omnem
 (Ni patriam mallet) sub leges mitteret orbem.
 Cùm tamen ingentes animos habet alta libido
 Imperii, præstat madido deflere reatum
 Lumine quàm nigro scelus insignire lapillo.
 Olli nempe animo spes larga insederat imo
 Plebejos tentandi aditus : sic posse revelli
 Rivales ad sceptrâ manus. Hinc ducere turmas
 In scelus ardentes placuit, Foedusque malignâ
 Arte sequi ; & rabido simul insanire popello.

Has dum facundo meditatur pectore fraudes
 Achitophel, querulas vocat ad sua castra cohortes,
 Atque animat junctas studia in contraria partes.

Prima mali labes, procerum manus emicat ar-
 dens,
 Quos plebeius amor, verique simillimus error
 Impulit

Impulit in lævum; quos nullo clausa potestas
 Limite sollicitat, regnique extensa libido.
 Hos patriæ sanctus rapuit per cæca viarum
 Libertatis honos, atque Omnipotentis alumnum
 Jus populi, donec laxum ingemuisse videres
 Imperium, & ruptâ penitus compage revelli.

Auri sacra fames alios jubet impete cæco
 Civiles miscere manus; & publica jura,
 Temporibus dubiis, privatæ obtendere fraudi.
 His gravis imperii moles, & inutile pondus
 Arguitur princeps, sceptro qui nixus inertî
 Nunquàm larga sui reparet dispendia damni.
 Frugi homines! patrio Jessiden pellere regno
 Aggressi, nimio quia constitit imperitari,
 Horum pone legunt (ut mos) vestigia linguæ
 Venales, rauci vaga tintinnabula vulgi.
 Hæc leviora tamen.—Solymæum protinus agmen
 Ancipites stringunt gladios, & utrinque læcessunt
 Jessiden; pariterque viro, pariterque tyranno
 Infensi; pia gens, jampridè exire tumultus
 Edocta, & motis in seditionibus audax.
 Ollis, rex patrias si fortè reviserit oras,
 Protinus arrestæ surgunt in vertice cristæ,
 Incalere animi: sed & hos tamen usque juvaret
 Oscula victrici fixisse trementia dextræ.
 Æmula gens scelerum, Jebicæ quæ pestis honorem
 Indignata, pares in fœdera miscuit artes,
 Et malè rivalet animosi pectoris iras.
 Has rapit, has animat bella in civilia turmas

Myſtarum lymphata cohors, quos tempore longo
 Raptus honos agitar, vetitque injuria fani.
 Ergo iterant ſolitas artes, & compita rauco
 Guttare pervolitant; ſanctique afflaminis œſtro
 Bacchantes, grati poſcunt moderamina cœli:
 Cùm ſoliti junc̃tis ſævire in regna flagellis
 Linigerique greges, trabeataque turba vocarent
 In prædam, partemque Deum. Nam ſceptra nepoti
 Quis negat Aronico, pietas ſi ſceptra rependat?
 Hi ducunt agmen. Qui quanquàm haud nare ſagaci
 Veſtigent aditus omnes, omnemque pererrent
 Arte locum; magnis tamen æthera vocibus implent,
 Et penitus rupti quatunt fundamina regni.
 Pone ſubit tardis inhians ad pulpita verbis
 Sancta cohors, veteriſque tenens veſtigia flammæ:
 His gravis eſt rerum facies, & lucidus ordo;
 Evertiſſe juvat ſtructas ad ſidera moles:
 Nec tamen everſas juvat inſtaurare ruinas.
 Plenior hinc numerus denſatas explicat alas;
 Mentis inops, linguâ melior: quos cæca libido
 De patribus, populoque, penatibus, & magnis diis
 Sollicitat, natuſque intra cunabula fervor:
 Quos uſſit Jebici pariter, Stygiique tyranni
 Immortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile vulnus.
 His, licet invitis (neque enim, ſe judice, quenquam
 Sanctorum invaſit fidei malè lubricus error)
 Cœleſtes facili patuerunt cardine valvæ.
 Ecce faces belli!—Sunt & Lernæ propago,
 Sunt & multiſidæ fœcundo è vertice criſtæ,
 Quas nimius memorâſſe labor.—

Ante aciem fulgent proceres.—Stat limine primo
Hortator scelerum Zimri *, cui pendula motu
Mens fluitat dubio, tanquam contraxerat omnem
Hinc illinc genium, & quocunque sub æthere nati
Pectoris ambagem. Dicto sermone moveri
Difficilis, pravique tenax; sed moribus anceps
Alternis animum nunc hûc, nunc dividit illûc,
In partésque rapit vicibus; pérque omnia versat;
Et, priûs emensum quàm Luna recurra in orbem,
Rem populi tractat, tibicinis, atque chymistæ.
Mox Veneri indulget, laurusve ad carmina mordet,
Aut pictis inhiat tabulis, aut pocula torquet.
Adde vagos cerebri lusus, quibus impetus idem
Et dedit, & rapuit, vix dum spirantibus, ortum.
O felix animi rabies! qui semper, & omni
Nocte, diéque potest alienos sumere mores.
Olli (dum argurum mentis dstringat acumen)
Vel placuit plenis præconia spargere buccis,
Mordacesve sales verso suspendere naso.
Hoc stetit in votis, patrios disperdere census,
Immeritos magnis opibus donare clientes.
Vix tandem, ut loculis elapsa pecunia plenis
Fluxerat, ignavæ sensit ludibria turbæ:
Dum suus huic lepor arrisit, cultoribus aurum.
Dein multo solitum buccas inflare cachinno
Aula fugat.—Cæcos tùm primùm excire tumultus,
Et rapere incensos castra in contraria ciyes.
At non plebeiis unquàm bellator in armis
Emicuit princeps: tanto par solus honori

* Dux Buckinghamiensis.

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Signifer Achitophel: lateri cui proximus hæret
Absolon, & focias molitur pectore curas.

Ergo ubi jam misero peccandi sola voluntas
Sur' puerat sceleris labem, non sponte malignos
Deferuit cœtus, pridem desertus ab illis. [nores

Stemmata quid referam? Quid carmine digner ho-
Patricios, feriémque rudem?—Fulgentibus ordo
Emicuit melior cristis, cui bellica virtus,
Aut plebs, aut citharæ cordi. Dein agmina stipant,
Et procures titulo tenùs; et, bona turba, mariti.
Exulet his ergo (proh turpia nomina!) chartis
Frigidus in venerem Caleb*, & membrorior æquo
Balamus†. Sed & hunc oblivio longa recondant,
Qui‡ nova paschali condivit fercula cœnæ.

Cana fides multos, & junctæ fœdera dextræ;
Hos sua defendit solido munimine virtus:
Hos prohibent meritis scelerum fastidia flagris.
At procul hinc, procul ite foràs vos, ultima duri
Fæx populi, parcus cui finxit corda Prometheus,
Et cautus nullos princeps indulsit honores.

Nec Jonam § nostris vacat inferuisse libellis,
Quanquàm humeris tenùs a collo palearia pendent;
Quanquàm jus dederit scelèri, legumque sinister
Interpres plebeiam ænigmate sanxerit iram.

Proximus huic (longo nec proximus intervallo)
Stat Shimeï ||, sacro jam pridem percitus œstro ¶
Et regale caput Stygiæ damnare paludi

* Comes Huntingdoniensis.

† Dominus Grey.

‡ Dominus Howard de Esrick.

§ Dominus Gulielmus Jones.

|| Vice-comes Bethel.

Ausus, adhuc nudis tenera lanugine malis.
 Sed caro sceleri venerandae intacta crumenae
 Obstat religio; & metuentem sabbata vincit
 Auri sanctus amor, lucrique arrepta cupido.
 Ille quidem testes jurare & fallere diuos
 Horruit; at regum si detestabile nomen
 Auribus imbiberit, ferali protinus ore
 Intonat, irarumque omnes effundit habenas,
 Ut tandem, tremulos privata ad templa susurros
 Fundere, & occultas (ut mos) innectere fraudes
 Edoctus, pleno custos inhiarit acervo;
 Tam cari capitis sudorem urbs grata rependit,
 Gestandasque dedit (pretium non vile) secures.
 Dextra tenet strictam Nemefin; it pectore summo
 Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
 Tum placidi fluxere dies, & nescia rumpi
 Gaudia; tum nudo licuit convitia sceptro
 Ingerere, & Stygiis bacchari impune catervis.
 Scilicet, intacti quamvis non prodigus auri,
 Usque tamen scelerum socios, turnasque nefandas
 Amplecti miro Shimei properabat amore,
 Et conjuratum si forte coierit agmen,
 Ausi vipereas Jessidae intendere linguas,
 Vertitur in medio Shimei; coetusque malignos
 Ne moveat, socios effundit pectore diras.
 Quod si aliquis caro sanctorum de grege restim
 Horruerit, culpae veteris reus atque tacendae,
 Bardiacus iudex datur haec punire volenti,
 Quem jubet in fratrem laxas dare legis habenas
 Junctas amor scelerum, & cognato in vulnere vulnus,
 Nam

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Nam quid agunt leges? durum & grave regibus
agmen

Cæco umbone tegunt, fidum genus ense recidunt.

Si qua tribunitiis succedant otia curis,

(Quippe ingens scelus est, ignavo elabier horam)

Moris erat, scriptas in vulgum spargere chartas,

Regem immanè queri, durum quem mercibus hos-
tem

Arguit, & populo nimiùm grave pondus anhelo.

Et, vivum ingenii quò fortiùs iret acumen,

Non vetitæ proles Rechabitica parcior uvæ,

Nulla meri custos vacuis stetit amphora cellis;

Rara tribunitias onerant convivia mensas;

Dedidicit veteres tandem coquus immemor artes;

Ignem focus nullo tepuit: sed pectore flammæ

Vis sedet, atque olidam versat mens atra culinam,

Tanta hyemis, gelidique laris reverentia multis

Succutiat latus, & tremulos de more cachinnos

Eliciat; sed enim faustum stat civibus omen.

Scilicet urbs, rapidos quæ jàm confidit in ignes,

Cautos jure legat dominos, qui fomite nullo

Alliciant læso demissa incendia cælo.

Servorum ille animis superæ convivia mensæ

Indulgens, ventres modio castigat iniquo

Carne parùm saturos; nempe hinc accensa libido

Moverat Ifacidas; dirique infania belli.

Sanctiùs ergo colit venerandi dogmata faxi,

Quòd Mosem Sinici sacra ad fastigia clivi

Viderat intactis lux quadragesima labris.

Cætera

Cætera de genere hoc, adèo sunt multa, loquacem
Delassare valent (quamvis in FOEDERA) testem.

Nulla tamen memori Coram * lux eximet ævo,
Nulla unquàm cæcâ rapiet sub nube vetustas.
Erige adorandi capitis decus, erige frontem
Sisyphiam, & solido circum-septum os orichalco.
Eia age, cognati vivax serpentis imago,
Indue festivas sacro velamine gentes;
Securumque gregem viridi tege protinus umbrâ.
Quid si humili natus lare sit? tamen antè cometes
Terrenas fæces bibit, atque infausta vaporum
Semina, quàm lævo contristat lumine cælum:
Et, sua frondenti quæ cingat tempora lauro,
Par regum pueris textoris sordida proles.
Ille ad rostra fremens sparsâ dum primus arenâ
TESTIS OVAT, tumido venturam in sæcula famam
Detulit hæredi, longumque nepotibus ævum.
Cui dubium est, magno cenferi sanguine testes
Qui rulerant lætos Stephani de morte triumphos?
Leviticâ noster deduxit stemmata virgâ;
Qui ratus est ordo (sæc'li pro more) Tonantis
Grande satellitium, & magni gens optima cœli.
Tristè sonat vox rauca, cavis stant sedibus orbes:
(Usque adèo nec bile jecur nec sanguine ferver)
Vim magnam ingenii, & miras sub pectore dotes
Arguit immisi spatium admirabile menti.
Ore sedet rubicundus honos, & fulgura vultus
Mosaici; nitidèque micat frons digna facello.
Mens rerum usquè tenax potuit (mirabile dictu!)

* Titus Oatesius.

Concilia, atque impar fidei scelus ordine longo
 Eruere, arcanosque dolos, serièmq; profundam;
 Quæ tamen haud fictam credas fuisse tabellam:
 Ecquis enim tantas potuit dispônere fraudes?
 Multa animi sacra vis, & mens divina futuri
 Insperfit chartis: sed enim sub fine labanti
 Succurrit testi vates, atque omnia firmat.
 Plurima nocturni referunt ludibria somni;
 Scilicet excussit sibi se, fruiturque Deorum
 Colloquio: hinc magnus pullatâ veste sacerdos
 Emicat, ignotum Phœbæa per oppida nomen.
 Ast illi memoris quanquàm vis mira cerebri,
 Haud minùs argutum mentis præstabat acumen:
 Nempè illo dubias munivit robore chartas,
 Et populi arrisit genio (sic fata trahebant)
 Horrendas Jebiùm cædes, atque arma frementi.
 Gens tamen Isaciæ si quando infensa quieti
 Esse putet clausi ficta internunciâ cœli
 Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Corah,
 Usque luet meritas æquo sub iudice pœnas:
 Nam quæstum qui tollit, idem facit occidenti.
 Quòd mihi si Coræ sacrato munere fungi
 Sors haud læva daret, quisquis foret ille virorum,
 Qui tanto intactum macularet crimine nomen,
 Excuteret vigili damnosa oblivia menti:
 Sic stat, finitis à tergo appendere chartis.
 Æternas illum maculas inspergere famæ
 Jessææ rabies demissi cœlitus œstri
 Impulit, & nimius circum præcordia fervor.

At

At quantus pietatis honos ! cui libera linguæ
 Vis datur, & nullam subitura licentia legem.
 Inde trahi licuit Coræ clamoribus iisdem,
 Quels Saulum increpuit vates animosus, Agagum
 Protrahere in medios, justæque opponere morti.

Cætera turba pares miscens in FœDERA chartas
 (Quos amor admovit, pretiive infana libido)
 Coraïcæ juncto succedent ordine classi :
 Nempe omnes uno censentur nomine TESTES.

Ergo Lares patrios juvenis, magnâmq; relinquit,
 Stipatus variis hinc inde clientibus, aulam :
 Subdit laudis amor stimulos, dat fræna furenti
 Ardua spes; dubiique animat vicinia regni.
 Undique visendi studio juvenûmq; senûmq;
 Circumfusa ruit manus, & prospectat euntem
 Attonitis inhians animis.—Volat ille per urbes,
 Confiliûmq; tegens vultu, spem fronte serenat.
 Poplite genua cadunt humili, cervice reflexâ
 Hûc caput atque illûc humero ex utrôque pependit.
 Arte vagos oculos, & membra decora juventæ
 Temperat, arte manus numerosque modosque lo-
 quendi

Instruit ; & populum compellat vocibus ultrò,
 Nomine quemque vocans. ———

Ergo animi accitis hinc dotibus, hinc benè cultu
 Nativo splendens, tacito per pectora lapsu
 Se blandè insinuat : dein tristi lumina vultu
 Dejectus, gemitûsque trahens in verba decoros,
 Tandem pauca refert ; sed mollibus apta querelis

Lenè

Lenè cadunt, dubiæque fluunt accommoda fraudi.
Non sic Hyblæis demanant flumine lento
Mella favis, parilive animos dulcedine mulcent.

“ Haud levis, indigenæ cives, hæc pectora vestri
Tangit cura mali: sed enim dolor ossibus hæret
Interior, quòd non valeam rescindere duras
Imperii leges, & iniquo occurrere fato.
Ille ego sum magnâ qui dudum ejectus ab aulâ,
Pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis;
Unum pro cunctis mactor caput,———
Quod mea si vestræ cessisset poena salutis,
Hæud lævam nunc sortem, aversaque fata dolerem:
Sed super his (proh triste nefas!) dulcissima quon-
dam

LIBERTAS patrios mecum concussa penates
Deserit, & tenues evanida cessit in auras.
Quinetiam tumidi circum vetus accola Nilivæ
Classe vagâ spolia ampla rapit, Tyræque juventæ,
Parva manus, nostris latè rex imperat undis:
Nec minùs in ritus sævit Jebusita sacerdos.
At genitor, sacrum semper mihi nomen, inertis
Dum torpens aulâ refides inglorius annos
Ducit, & externo malè sedulus incubat auro,
Jam senior Bathshebæis elanguit ulnis.
Ille sibi infestum sceptrum quatit; arcet amicos,
Ereptisque caput titulis hostile coronat.
Ille (nec indignor) mihi jus rapit: æstuó CIVES,
In sua quòd præceps, & publica commoda peccat.
Hunc penes est unum turbati fœdera regni

Excutere,

Excutere, & validis sævire impunè flagellis.

Accipite has ergo lacrymas (lacrymantia terfit
Lumina) quando aliud misero nihil iste reliquit.

Non patrias hæc arma gravis delator ad aures

Incuset, tacito geminans delicta susurro :

His etiam in patrem confurgat filius armis.

Atque utinam folio qui proximus affidet hæres,

Me, me unum madidos tergentem spectet ocellos!

Sæpe leves animos formæ decus atque juventæ

Occupat, & pulchro veniens de corpore virtus ;

At commune bonum valet, æternumque valebit :

Neve illi deerunt juncti suffragia vulgi,

Qui mala privatis immiscet publica damnis.

Turba gravis scepro, placidisque inimica tyrannis,

Præsenti turgent Messæ numine, juncto

Messiam sublime ferunt ad sidera plausu.

Ille volans celso festiva per oppida curru,

Dulce solum grati lustrat Canaanis ; & omnem

Metitur radiis, (Phœbeæ lampadis instar)

Vesper ab Eo quâ distat cardine, terram.

Circùm equites, peditesque, & præcedentia longi

Agminis officia glomerant ; it nuntia fama

Per populos : crebris resonat clamoribus æther.

Si quibus augustus succedat sedibus hospes,

Illum omnes geniumque loci, famulumque Tonantis

Voce vocant : divumque viro dignantur honores.

Ante alios lautæ explicuit convivia mensæ

Issachar *, occiduis jam tum notissimus oris.

Hic aulæ decor, & lascivæ gloria pompæ

* Thomas Thynne, arm.

Usque licet populi blandè gratantis ocellos
 Luserit attonitos, speciosum crimen obumbrat :
 Nempe has Achitophel vafro sub pectore fraudes
 Struxerat, ut dubios plebeio in corde recessus
 Tentaret, cæcòsque animis excuderet ignes ;
 Infensum penitus sociis fecerneret agmen ;
 Bellantesque acies expenderet, antè recurvæ
 Quàm vis rauca tubæ duri canat omina belli.
 Usque tamen noctem coëptis immiscuit atram
 Fictus amor regum, sceptrisque ruentia fata,
 Relligio verus, & curarum dulce levamen,
 (Nomina decepto semper placitura popello)
 Quin & Jessæ perrumpent stamina vitæ
 Fraternalque doli, vetitique injuria lecti.
 Ergo theatrâli pestis læset aspera pompâ,
 Et bona pax taciti molitur semina belli.

Heu fatui cives ! quos nonquàm exercita fatia
 Sors domuit, simili pronos innectier hamo,
 Antiquisque dolis. Quæ vos fortuna quietos
 Sollicitat, dirique jubet contagia morbis
 Fingere, adhuc validis juvenili robore nervis ;
 Rimari dubias incerta per omina clades ;
 Regibus hæredes imponere, jura Tonanti ?
 Ergo sui populus venturique arbiter ævi
 Imperii excussas aliò deflectat habenas ?
 Tum cadet indomito jus & fas præda furori,
 Et cuiusque licet bacchari impunè tyranno.
 Nequicquàm auspiciis legum, scriptisque tabellis.

Nihilur,

Nitimur, & placida jactamus munia vitæ,
 Si lex arbitrio regali cesserit ultro;
 Quod si plebeia fallaci examine libra
 Vis recti steterit, regumque vicarius ordo
 Committas fidei gestet de more secures,
 Aut hoc nascentis dudum ad primordia regni
 Invaluit pactum, aut nullo vim detulit ævo
 Regia qui nudis admorunt sceptrâ lacertis,
 Ni pariter feros traherent in facta nepotes,
 Undè suum Adamus ventura in sæcula crimen
 Spargeret; et, patrium mundo averſante reatum,
 Exigeret justas vindex Rhamnusia pœnas?
 Tùm rabidam princeps solitus frenare catervam
 Imperio vulgi premitur, rerumque magistros
 Legè suâ populi magni regit omnipotens ius,
 Vis regni, quâ ritè bonum commune tuetur,
 Quàm malè defertur plebi? Nàm summa potestas
 Si quando armatae tristis cadat hostia dextræ,
 Quis certam rebus poterit spondere salutem?
 Sed neque adorandi semper præconia veri
 Spargit vox populi; pariterque erroris opacis
 Involvi tenebris uni licet, atque cohorti
 Scilicet innocuas virgas plebs ægra laceſſet,
 Quæta scelus duri, stragèsque, & flagra tyranni.
 Quæ datur incerto juris mensura popello
 Qui celer ad metam eùm jam defluerit imam,
 Trudit iter, rapidamque citatior urget aquæ vim?
 Nec turbas solùm informes, vulgumque profanum
 Hi stimulant æstus; magnis fanaticus error

Conciliis irrepsit, & iracunda Diana :
 Cùm civile nefas, junctique insania ferri
 Feralem imbueret regali sanguine dextram ;
 Et ficto augustum fœdaret crimine nomen.
 Quod si illis ea sit rerum concessa potestas,
 Et rapere, & raptos aliis transmittere fasces,
 Non tantùm regalis honos, atque æmula cœli
 Gloria vanescet moriens ; sed magna fatiscet
 Imperii moles, & rupta machina regni
 Antiquos repetens ortus, ubi fortibus æquis
 Vivitur ; & pleno liceat dare vela furori.
 Libera sed dentor populo suffragia : — Nùm quis
 Regalẽm admoto sedem petat ariete, quæ jam
 Pondere fixa suo validis radicibus hæret ?
 Nàm populo, quâcunq̃ue gemens sub mole labores,
 Intendunt duplices mutata pericula pœnas.
 Pulsâ quidem huc illuc aliis respublica damnis
 Distrahitur : sed enim nullâ sub lege vagantes
 In nova fert animos lævi inclementia cœli.
 Siqua vetus moles jam jam lapsura, cadentique
 Imminet affimilis, dubias fulcire ruinas
 Sis memor, & tremulos valido tibicine postes ;
 Hactenus officii labor est : sed meta labori
 Hæc stet fixa suo : siquid temerarius ultra
 Moliris, sanctam digito violaveris arcam.
 Relligione sacras ædes, senioque verendas
 Eruere, atque imis evertere fundamentis,
 Hœc istis incumbat onus, qui turpiter audent,
 Qui terrâ cœlòque ratas excindere leges

Aggressi

Aggressi dominos furiali Marte laceffunt.
 Qui, laxis cùm jam laterum compagibus omnem
 Miscuerint penitus molem, tum partibus agris
 (Proh scelus!) impendunt medicæ miracula dextræ.
 Usque adeo herbarum vires, atque invida succi
 Copia lustratas vitiantem tabe medullas
 Eliciunt pestem, & gravioris semina morbi.

Se quibus obsessum Jeshides muniat armis?
 Heu nimis infaustum pietas sua regibus omen!
 Fida cohors raro nunc personat atria cœtu:
 Regis nempe favor duram (pro tempora!) vulgo
 Accendit rabiem, & plebeias asperat iras.
 At neque Jeshais deerat nunc turba periclis,
 Inconcussa tenens dubio vestigia regno:
 Hos memorem; sequitur memoratum gloria nomen.

Ante omnes princeps, parvâ stipante catervâ,
 Barzillai * stetit; ille annis titulisque verendus
 Barzillai, qui dextrâ olim crudele rebelli
 (Ultra spumantem Jordani fluminis undam)
 Extorfit ferrum, & surgentes contudit iras;
 Hostili tandem, nec diis, nec viribus æquis,
 (Heu frustra audacem!) turmæ congressus, herili
 Succubuit fato, sociosque per omnia luctus
 Pertulit, & paribus fixit vestigia curis,
 Donec longa dies patriâ confidere terrâ
 Jussit, & in solido rursus fortuna locavit.
 Fraus illi nescire dolos, dum nomine solo
 Aulicus, effuso sparsit vaga munera nimbo,
 Et crevere pares, auro crescente, favores.

* D. de Ormond.

Ille opibus juvit, vultu ille accendit amico
 Bellantemque ducem, & referentes bella Camenas,
 Natorum incanum quondam numerosa parentem
 Turba coronabat : primum nunc stirpis honorem
 Spemque domus orbæ dolet. — Illum ego “ semper
 “ acerbum

“ Semper honoratum (sic dii voluistis) habebo.”

Illum ego — adhuc viridi florentem robore, lævis
 Ereptum auspiciis, & iniqui crimine fati :

Ante tamen summæ tangentem culmina famæ ;

Ante & muneribus functum, quæcunque parenti

Debit, aut regi. Properanti meta laborum

Longa stetit, mediū longum æquoris intervallum ;

Ille usque obstanti spatio, post terga reliquit

Temporis haud æquas, pedibus pernicios, alas.

O nimis angustū constrictus limite gyri

Circulus ! at toto, quaquā patet, integer orbe.

Terra tuis infecta, tuis rubet unda, triumphis ;

Arma tibi in votis, tibi Mars & prælia cordi,

Cū tua Sidonios virtus infracta maniplos

Fulserit, attonitis rediit Niloticus alis

Victor, & alterni erubuit discrimina fati.

“ Heu pietas ! heu prisca fides ! invictaque bello

“ Dexterâ ! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset

“ Obvius armato.” —

Ah ! nimium Judæa tuis indigna trophæis !

“ Immodicis brevis est ætas, & rara senectus.”

Dūm læva (heu !) nostram meditantur sidera cladem,

Successusque novos spectant, metuuntque futuros,

Comes Ossorie.

Te

Te rapit atra dies, & funere mergit acerbo,
 Irrita ne fixi reddas præfagia cœli.
 Nunc fugis exuto terrenæ pondere molis,
 Et vagus "infueta limen miraris Olympi,
 "Sub pedibus nubesque videns, & sidera," longo
 Illinc cognatas possis diducere turmas

Ordine, & insidiis fracto succurrere regi.
 Siste gradus hic, Musa, tuos; hic exue pennas!
 Siste gradus.—Quis enim tanti fastigia clivi
 Ascensu superat?—Mihi jam nimis alta petenti,
 Et mœstum rauco modulanti gutture carmen,
 Deficiunt vires.—Quid te juvat usque morari,
 O anima, erepto domino? ni fortè sub umbras
 Fugisti comes; & lugubrem hunc marmore versum
 Incidi placuit, monumentum & pignus amoris.
 Ergo age, præcipiti delabens tramite terras
 Respice desertas; similemque per atria regum
 Quære virum.—Heu similem nequicquam!—Ecce
 alter ab illo,

Leviticæ Zadoc* custos sanctissimus are,
 Qui tulit invitus (Judæi insignia mystæ)
 Fulgentem in gremio thoracem, in vertice mithram.
 Et juxta Solymæ Præses†, quem larga bonorum
 Pectora nobilitant, & aviti stemmatis ordo.

Hesperii Laris Antistes, cui copia torrens
 Dicendi, validi semper comes argumenti.

His super exemplis jampridem accensa juvenus
 Instituit primos regi multisque labores.

Scilicet auspiciis florent regalibus; & quas
 Rex habet infestas, & habent collegia, turmas.

* Archiepisc. Sancroft.

† Episc. Compton.

Hos à calce premunt Iudei gloria rostri.
Qui juris nodos, & legum ænigmata solvunt.

Exiguum hinc fidus quædum sese explicat agmen:

Ante omnes Adriel * venam natura benignam
Cui tribuit, solidæque argutum mentis acumen.
Pieridum fautor: ne sit sed & ipse canoris
Eloquium vocale modis. — Fervente senatu,
Jus sacrum asseruit regni, non turpiter audax.
Hinc Jessus amor titulis adiunxit avitis
Haud merito nati raptam de tempore laurum.

Hûc etiam Iothamus † adest, cui divite venâ
Largus & exundans prompti fuit ingenij fons.
Edoctus regere occulto fluitantia coetu
Consilia, & dubiæ moderari fræna catervæ.
Ille ubi jam medios sensu delapsus in hostes
Festinata retro præceps vestigia torfit;
Ancipitemque suo firmavit pondere lancem.
Tantam unus tremulæ libræ molem intulit heros.

Nunc, Musa, Hushaïum † memora, civilibus iris
Jactatum, populique minis, per iniqua viarum
Jessidæ comitem. Peregrino fidere rerum
Fluctibus in mediis teneros exercuit annos,
Nativasque auxit cana experientia dotes.
Olli parca manus: regalis parca crumena,
Larga suæ. Pleno facilè invigilabis acervo;
Sed tenuem cauto moliri pectore gazam
“Hoc opus, hic labor est” —
Tum sacra principibus crescit languetve potestas,
Cum sua vulgus emant, cum vendant jura tyranni.

* Comes Mulgrave.

† Dominus Dartmouth.

‡ Hyde, Comes Roffensis.

"Extremum hinc Amiel", Erato, concede la-
 borum;
 Fessa licet: Quis non Amielem carmine laudet?
 Non tam illum proavi, veterique a sanguine sanguis,
 Quàm sua nobilitat virtus; hâc ille frementem
 Hinc atque hinc aqua libravit lance senatum;
 Inflexitque animos dictis, & pectora mulsi.
 Consiliis acer jus non violabile regni
 Afferuit, patriæque fidem: quasi clauserat uno
 Pectore adhuc brevius triplicis compendia gentis.
 At nunc præcípites undantia lora remittunt
 Aurigæ; juvat hos ignoto framate labi:
 Hi temerè annorum, veluti Olymeneia proles †,
 Æternas miscere vias, fixumque tenorem
 Mutare, & stabiles sati confundere leges.
 Interea hæc Amiel vultu miseratus amico
 Spectat; & exuto curarum pondere, carpit
 Emeritam placida compollus pace quietem.
 Jessei en comites! Solymæ qui claustra tueri,
 Et conjuratis ausi se opponere turmis,
 Contra ibant vulgi rabiem, tela aspera contra:
 Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
 Scilicet insurgunt iræ, dolor ossibus ardet,
 Cum crebris laxi nutarent moenia regni
 Ictibus, & validis tremerent impulsa lacertis.
 Dehinc numerosa cohors, fletis exterrita monstis,
 Imperii decus, & regalia jura, senatu
 Judice, plebejâ gaudet truncare securi.
 Quin & nativo pulsus lare regius hæres,

* Seymourius, Domus inferioris Orator,

† Phagion.

Fraternoque sinu scapulis prohibetur avitis:
 Atque immanè fremunt conducti in FœDERA testes.
 Quæ simul ac duri sensit præludia fati
 Fida manus regem officio trepidante salurans
 His animum accendit dictis, & vulnerat aures.
 Nempe monet, cassos in vulgum exire favores;
 Imis jam penitus morbum insedisse medullis,
 Hausurumque novas lem à medicamine vires.
 Absolon interea, regni quem caeca libido
 Transversum exagitat, turbam mirâ arte sequacem
 Allicit, & placido circumquaque implicat hamo.
 Nec minus Achitophel stimulis agitated amaris
 Infidias struit, atque horrendi FœDERIS umbrâ
 Communem folii miscet templique ruinam.
 Effera concilium rabies agit, effera plebem:
 Signifer Ifacidis faustum execrantibus omen
 Prætendit Shimei, & feralibus imbuit iris.
 Talia per populum passim Jesseus heros
 Et videt, & magno curarum fluctuat aestu:
 Tandem animi victus, dubiosque in corde volutans
 Eventus secum, solio sic orsus ab alto
 Increpuit gentes, & fatis ora resolvit.
 Contouère omnes; multusque ad terga satellites
 Aure bibit Divum Jessæa in voce Tonantem.
 “Hactenus innocuam frænavit gratia dextram,
 Luctantes pressi simulatâ mente dolores
 Hactenus; ultricesque latent in pectore curæ.
 Usque adeo sac’li juvat in pejora ruentis
 Absolvisse nefas: animoque inscripta paterno

Regalem usque adeo pietas compescuit iram,
 At nunc tanta rapit miseros infania cives,
 Ut nostræ passim subeant fastidia pacis;
 Ipsi aspernantur veniam me iudice fontes.
 Unum pro multis statui caput, usque fatemur;
 Scilicet ut magno (neque enim fors altera re-
 gum est)

Imperio populos teneat, frænctque rebelles.
 Ergone, quod leni perfusæ sanguine venæ
 Dulcè micant, timidum gens arguet atque pusillum?
 Fallitur; ingentes animos vindicta laceffit
 Segnior, & raræ magno stant pectore flammæ.
 Si tamen accensos stimulis haud mollibus æstus
 Irritare juvet; non me pietate coactâ
 Sentiet elicitos pridem sparsisse favores.
 Quæ nostro ingeritur cumulata infamia tergo
 Gibbosi melius premat horrida dorsa cameli.
 Fulcra quidem divûm statuuntur munere reges,
 Quorum humeris regni moles onerosa recumbat.
 Ille meus Samson tremulas si forte columnas
 Succutiat fidens, sociam trahat usque ruinam.
 Quanquàm ô si madidis tandem defleret ocellis
 Antiquum scelus, & priscæ vestigia culpæ!
 Quàm caræ soboli juvet ignovisse parentem!
 Quantula (prohi superi!) lacrymarum copia mentem
 Molliret patriam, cum pectora fortior urget
 Impetus, & natura suam tutatur alumnum!
 Heu nimium miserande puer! cui semper, anhelæ
 Quicquid vis animæ potuit perferre, paterni

Stulta

Stulta animi indulgit pietas, & amabilis error.
 Imperii si fortè decus bona fata dedissent,
 Non adeò parcus juveni præcordia Titan
 Finxerat, aut tenues nascenti infeverat ignes.
 Nomine publicolæ captus! qui jure tyrannos
 (Ut nunc sæc'la ferunt) antiquâ pelleret aulâ.
 Patricio vafro pia larva! & turgidus heros
 Gratanti populo.—Nondùm, nisi læva fuissent
 Pectora, publicolæ quisquam captavit honores.
 Unde illo potius quàm Davide gaudeat infans
 Relligio, & legum justissima cura patrono?
 Iste catus scelerum libertatisque magister
 Achitophel, nostri cùm pridem liminis hospes
 Manserit, haud tantas aluit sub pectore flammâs,
 Heu pia seditio qualem sine more furenti
 Publicolæ obtendit nubem! Quicumque tyranno
 Hostis erit, populi decus audiet, & tutamen,
 Hæredemne juvat nostris obtrudere sceptris?
 Partiri cautum decuit sua rura senatum!
 Rex ego sum, saltémque mei pars integra regni:
 Miscentur plebeia, & me quoque iudice, fortes.
 Nolenti regem licet extorquere futurum?
 Quidni etiam solio liceat me pellere avito?
 Nostra quidem junctis poscunt suffragia votis;
 Esavi sed enim serosis hispida villis
 Brachia, Jacobi placidæ quàm dissona linguæ!
 Regalem cives precibusque & thure salutem
 Usque atque usque rogant; quam ut possint ritè

tueri

Dant

Dant requiem scepro, atque ingentibus otia curis.
 Lenè fluant, superi, placidæ bona gaudia vitæ;
 Nec puros scelus, aut rabies fanatica folet
 Inquinet: ante omnes orantem avertite turbam!
 Hanc immensa fames, & inexorabile pectus
 Exagitat; non sic infocundi instat & urget
 Vox uteri; non sic avidi jejuna sepulchri
 Vis furit; aut tanto vastum os expandit hilat.
 Plura petunt, quam quæ votis succederit æther.
 Ergo stat infomni tandem componere curam
 Reliquias sceptri, & sumptis tutarier armis.
 Integra lex placidas regni moderetur habenas,
 Atque eadem turmas justo premat ense rebelles.
 Non ultra adstrictos solvent suffragia falces,
 Quorum vi junctis præstat pars altera membris.
 Haud nostris ultra laribus gens fida clientum
 Infanis populi clamoribus acta recedet.
 Non vulgo imperium virgæ, rigidaque securis
 Tradetur, nullis qui missa sortibus urna
 Ultrices fuso possant cum sanguine poenas.
 Scilicet & divi, & divum cognata potestas
 Usque cavo famulos gaudent umbone tueri.
 O! mihi si nullo dextram maculasse cruore
 Detur, & æternâ frontem circundare olivâ!
 Quid Nemefin cogor, post tempora longa, reclusam
 Eripere, & multâ obductum rubigine ferrum?
 Proh lex sæva nimis, diri soror horrida Lethi!
 Quàm malè degenerem tranquillâ a fronte timorem
 Arguit infesti male-suada insania vulgi!

Pacati caveas rabiem, furiâsque lacerant
 Ergo, Astræa, tuum, quem flagitat, exere vultum!
 Cervicis tenera lascivos pascere ocellos
 Intuitu pigrit: pleno jurat ore fueri,
 Atque oculos tentare tuos, & fidere morti.
 Jam suus artificem Lethi (sic volvere Parcas)
 Trans adiget mucro, gratisque occumbet in armis.
 Se ferient testes gladiis in mutua strictis
 Viscera, dum primos horrendi Fœderis ortus,
 Maternumque uterum penitus manduntque, trahunt.
 Vipereo similes generi: tum protinus atram [que,
 Usque bibant saniem, juvet usque haurire cruorem,
 Unde prius teneræ traxerunt semina vitæ.
 Belzebub in fratrem Belial ruet, hostis in hostem.
 Nec minor eventu spes est: nam, more ferino,
 Turba ferox belli totas in limine vires
 Impendunt, primòque animas in vulnere ponunt.
 Ergo age, præcipiti juvet indulgere furori;
 His tu cede malis, nec contra audentior ito:
 Obliquâque latus, gyroque clude sequentem.
 Corpore cum sudor (nec respirare potestas)
 Liquitur, & fessas quatit æger anhelitus artus;
 Tum demum geminas intende in prælia vires:
 Nec mora, nec requies, quin ferreus ingruat im-
 ber.
 Nempe æquam melior causam qui protegit heros
 Sede diù quanquam pulsus, tandem impiger hostes
 Serait humi victor; campoque potitur operto.
 Dixerat.

Dixerat. Omnipotens faustum ter vertice cano
 Annuit, & totum tonitru trefecit Olympum.
 Hinc anni fluere, hinc seclorum inficere ordo
 Lætus ab integro, & magni procedere menses;
 Jussides iterum solio confodit avito;
 Et placido junctas tenuit sub fœdere gentes.

IN ORBITUM

Egregii Juvenis ***** SHIRLEY.

I.

DUM te canoræ turba sciens lyra
 Urgent ademptum flebilibus modis,
 Hoc, dulcis Umbra, ne recuses
 Officium tenuis Camenæ.

II.

Cui si favebit Phœbus amicior,
 Tot illa famæ, chare Puer, tuæ
 Apponet annos, quot caducæ
 Mors adimit properata vitæ.

* Whatever were the demerits of Curll, we owe to him the preservation of this delicate little Elegy. On the strength of this single poem, and our Author's Speech on being admitted to the Deacy of Christ-Church; Curll ventured to call a whole volume by the title of ATTERBURYANA. They were communicated to him by the Bishop's son in 1726; and are undoubtedly genuine.—Not so the "Festum Lustrale, seu Baptizata Rustica," which has been ascribed to Atterbury; but was in reality the production of Loveling, with whose poems it is printed. The version of Cato's soliloquy (which in the Biographia is supposed to be Atterbury's) was certainly by Dr. Bland.

III. Non

III.

Non hic fideles quod bene feceris;
Chartæ filebunt, te Pudor & Fides
Commendat *, integrique mores;
Et decorans benè nata virtus.

IV.

Præsens fugacem sistere spiritum
Heu ! nulla Virtus, nec Pietas moram,
Pudorve, febri luctuosæ
Attulit indomitæque morti.

V.

Quid illa velox profuit indoles
Aut mens virilis ? O nimium breve,
Virtutis ævum ! præcocique
Ingenii fragiles honores.

VI.

Sic mille flores inter amabiles
Narcissus horti gloria, verticem
Attollit altè, mox reclinem
Sternit humi pluvialis auster.

* The metre here requires "Commendat," but the grammar
"Commendant." EDIT.

EPIGRAM,

EPIGRAM, from BP. ATTERBURY'S MSS.

"VIVITE, AUT, FUGIO."

L Abentem ractis quisquis pede conspicis um-
bram,

Si sapiis, hæc audis: 'Vivite, nam fugio.'

Utilis est oculis, nec inutilis auribus umbra

Dum tacet, exclamat, 'Vivite, nam fugio.'

EPITAPH in St. Botolph's Bishop's-gate *.

HIC conjuncta suo recubat Francisca marito,
Et cinis est unus quæ fuit una caro.

Huc cineres concire suos soror Anna jubebat,

Corpora sic uno pulvere trina jacent.

Ille opifex rerum Omnipotens, qui trinus & unus,

Pulvere ab hoc uno corpora trina dabit.

* I give this epitaph conjecturally to the Bishop, if having been found among his papers. Two translations are here subjoined.

"Here lie interr'd an husband and a wife,
One dust in death, as once one flesh in life.
A sister's mingled ashes here repose,
Three bodies thus one heap of dust compose.
Thou, Power Almighty, Three in One, wilt raise
Three several bodies from one common mass."

"Below an husband and a wife are laid,
One flesh when living, and one dust now dead.
A sister's ashes mingle in the urn,
And thus three bodies to one dust return.
But thou, O Three in One, Almighty Power,
From this one dust three bodies wilt restore."

HORACE*, BOOK II. ODE III.
IMITATED BY ATTERBURY.

I.

BE calm, my Dellius, and serene,
However Fortune change the scene!
In thy most dejected state,
Sink not underneath the weight:
Nor yet, when happy days begin,
And the full tide comes rolling in,
Let a fierce unruly joy

The settled quiet of thy mind destroy:

However Fortune change the scene,
Be calm, my Dellius, and serene!

II.

Be thy lot good, or be it ill,
Life ebbs out at the same rate still:
Whether, with busy cares oppress,
You wear the fullen time away;
Or whether to sweet ease or rest

You sometimes give a day;
Carelessly laid

Underneath a friendly shade,
By pines and poplars mix'd embraces made;
Near a river's sliding stream,
Fetter'd in sleep, blest'd with a golden dream.

* There can be no doubt of this translation's being properly ascribed to Atterbury. Two lines of it are expressly quoted as his by Pope, in a passage I have already had occasion to produce, vol. I. p. 145.

III. Her,

III.

Here, Here, in this much envy'd state,
Let every blessing on thee wait;

Bid the Syrian hard be brought,
Bid the hidden wife be sought,

And let the rose's short-liv'd flower,
The smiling daughter of an hour,

Flourish on thy brow!

Enjoy the very, very now!

While the good hand of life is in,

While yet the fatal sisters spin.

IV.

A little hence, my friend, and thou
Must into other hands resign

Thy gardens and thy parks, and all that now
Bears the pleasing name of thine!

Thy meadows, by whose planted tides,

Silver Tyber * gently glides!

Thy pleasant houses; all must go;

The gold that's hoarded in them too:

A jolly heir shall set it free,

And give th' imprison'd monarchs liberty.

* Which, by the bye, is a muddy yellow stream! EDITOR.

V.

Nor matters it, what figure here
 Thou dost among thy fellow-mortals bear;
 How thou wert born, or how begot;
 Impartial Death matters it not:
 With what titles thou dost shine,
 Or who was first of all thy line;
 Life's vain amusements! amidst which we dwell;
 Nor weigh'd, nor understood, by the grim god of hell!

VI.

In the same road, alas! all travel on!
 By all alike the same sad journey must be gone!
 Our blended lots together lie,
 Mingled in one common urn:
 Sooner or later out they fly;
 The fatal boat then wafts us to the shore,
 Whence we never shall return,
 Never!—never more!

HORACE.

HORACE, BOOK III. ODE IX.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY.

H O R A C E.

WHILST I was fond, and you were kind,
 Nor any dearer youth, reclin'd
 On your soft bosom, sought to rest,
 Phraates was not half so blest.

L Y D I A.

Whilst you ador'd no other face,
 Nor lov'd me in the second place,
 My happy celebrated fame
 Outshone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame.

V A R I A T I O N S.

Ver. 4. " *Not Persia's Monarch* was so blest.7. " *Your Lydia's* celebrated fame.8. " *Out-shone the Roman Ilia's* name.

* " The learned Scaliger was infinitely fond of this Ode, and of the Third Ode of the Fourth Book, as appears by his own remarkable words in the Sixth Book of his Poetics: ' Omnes Horatii Odæ tantæ sunt venustatis,' &c. All the Odes of Horace are so beautiful, that they have effectually discouraged me, and all persons of common prudence, from any attempts of the same kind. But I have taken notice of two in particular, than which I do not think Ambrosia or Nectar can be sweeter. One of them is the Third of the Fourth Book, ' Quem tu, Melpomene, semel,' &c. and the other the Ninth of the Third Book, ' Donec gratus eram tibi,' &c. I had rather have written Odes like these than any of Pindar's, or even than to be king of all Arragon.' The Prefate, whose elegant translation we have here adopted, was probably of the same opinion, since he has translated these two Odes; and, as far as we know, these two only." I copy this note from Mr. Duncombe's Horace.

" Perhaps no Ode of Horace hath so frequently been translated as the Dialogue between him and Lydia. This we have often been

HORACE.

Me Chloe now possesses whole,
 Her voice and lyre command my soul :
 Nor would I death itself decline,
 Could her life ransom'd be with mine. 12

LYDIA.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
 And warmth for warmth my heart returns :
 Twice would I life with ease resign,
 Could his be ransom'd once with mine. 16

HORACE.

What if sweet Love, whose bands we broke,
 Again should tame us to the yoke ;
 Should banish'd Chloe cease to reign,
 And Lydia her lost power regain ? 20

VARIATIONS.

- Ver. 12. "*Could I redeem her life with mine,*
 15. "*Twice would I life for him resign,*
 16. "*Could his be ransom'd thus with mine,*
 17. "*What if the God—*
 19. "*What if my Chloe—*

surprized at, as certainly there is nothing extraordinary in the Ode itself. The chief thing that recommends it, is the easy elegance and gracefulness of its expression, which is probably the reason why it hath been so popular, and hath produced such a number of imitators; of whom, however, few have succeeded. Of all the versions of it that we recollect at present, Atterbury's is by far the best. Were we not afraid of offending our classical readers, we should almost be tempted to say, that it is equal to the original; a thing which can scarcely ever be said of the translations of Horace."

Dr. KIRKIS, in Biog. Brit.

It has been well observed by Mr. Maty, that "I've kiss'd and I've prattled with fifty fair maids," in Mrs. Brooke's *Rosina*, is almost equal to this dialogue of Horace.

LYDIA,

Though Hesperus be less fair than he,
Though wilder than the raging sea,
Lighter than down; yet gladly I
With thee would live, with thee would die. 24

VARIATION.

21. "Though *Phosphor*"—

HORACE, BOOK IV. ODE III.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY*.

TO HIS MUSE, BY WHOSE FAVOUR HE ACQUIRES
IMMORTAL FAME.

HE, on whose birth the Lyric Queen
Of numbers smil'd, shall never grace
The Isthmian gauntlet, nor be seen
First in the fam'd Olympic race. 4

* "Any one who hath a genius for poetry," says a learned correspondent, "will agree with me in wishing that Atterbury had never had any other occupation but poetry. His fame as a politician or a divine is not equal to what he deserves for this translation, which is, without exception, the best in any language that I have met with." This, undoubtedly, is carrying the encomium on Dr. Atterbury's poetical talent very far; and yet we can scarcely venture to say that it is carried too far. There is something so exceedingly beautiful in the specimens which are given of his early turn for poetry, that it is greatly to be regretted that he did not more direct his thoughts that way. The translation of this Ode is in the highest degree beautiful. The Ode itself, in the original, is peculiarly excellent and delightful; and Dr. Atterbury hath most happily succeeded in cloathing it in an English dress. It was judicious in Dr. Francis not to attempt a new version of this Ode, after so admirable a one was furnished to his hands. And he justly observes, that by Bishop Atterbury's success we may be convinced that it is not impossible to render Horace into English without any great loss of his original beauties." Dr. KIPPIS.

He shall not, after toils of war,
 And taming haughty monarchs pride,
 With laurel'd brows conspicuous far,
 To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride. 8
 But him the streams, that warbling flow
 Rich Tyber's flowery meads along,
 And shady groves (his haunts) shall know
 The master of the Æolian song. 12
 The sons of Rome, majestic Rome!
 Have fix'd me in the Poets choir;
 And, Envy now or dead or dumb,
 Forbear to blame what they admire. 16
 Goddess of the sweet-sounding lute,
 Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
 Who canst the finny race, though mute,
 To cygnets dying accents raise; 20
 Thy gift it is, that all with ease
 My new unrival'd honours own;
 That I still live, and living please,
 O Goddess, is thy gift alone, 24

VARIATIONS.

Ver. 15. And Envy, now or deaf or dumb,

16. *Forbears* to blame, &c.

23. "That *while* I live *my numbers* please,

24. "*If pleasing*,"—

HORACE,

HORACE, BOOK I. PART OF EPIST. X.

Cervus equum, pugna melior, communibus
 herbis
 Pellebat; donec minor in certamine longo
 Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit,
 Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
 Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY;

AND TAKEN FROM HIS MSS.

THE horse and stag, in common pasture bred,
 Disputed for the spot on which they fed:
 With heels and head long was the strife pursued,
 And combat after combat still renew'd;
 Till, worsted in the fray, the horse began
 To quit the field, and crav'd the aid of man,
 Who mounted on his back — — —

And now, obedient to the whip and spur,
 The Vanquish'd triumph'd o'er the Vanquisher,
 But lost his freedom, while the prize he gain'd,
 And was, for ever after, rode and rein'd.
 Britain, beware, the tale is told to thee;
 Free, as thou art, so still continue free!

THE

THE BEE.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY,

FROM THEOCRITUS *, IDYLL. XIX.

CUPID, the archest rogue alive,
 One day was plundering of a hive:
 But, as with too, too eager haste
 He went the liquid sweets to taste,
 A bee surpriz'd the heedless boy;
 Prick'd him, and dash'd th' expected joy.
 The urchin, when he felt the smart
 Of the envenom'd angry dart,
 He kick'd, he flung, he beat the ground;
 He blow'd, and then he chaff'd the wound:
 He blow'd and chaff'd the wound in vain;
 The rubbing still increas'd the pain.
 Straight to his mother's lap he lies,
 With swelling cheeks, and blotch'd eyes.
 Cries she—'What does my Cupid ail?'
 When thus he told his mournful tale:
 "A little bird they call a bee,
 With yellow wings; see, mother, see
 How it has gor'd, and wounded me!"
 'And are not you,' reply'd his mother,
 'For all the world just such another?
 Just such another waspish thing,
 Like in bulk, and like in sting?

* As it had before been by Theocritus from Anacreon, Ode XI. Both poems are excellently translated by Mr. Fawkes.—The present imitation, which had crept into Dryden's "Miscellanies" under the title of "The Honey Stealer," is corrected from the Bishop's MSS.

For, when you aim a poisonous dart
Against some poor unwary heart,
How little is the archer found !
And yet how wide, how deep the wound !

EPIGRAM, BY ATTERBURY*.

WRITTEN ON A WHITE FAN BORROWED FROM
MISS OSBORNE, AFTERWARDS HIS WIFE.

FLAVIA the least and slightest toy
Can with resistless art employ :
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of small force in love ;
Yet she, with graceful air and mien,
Not to be told, or safely seen,
Directs its wanton motions so,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow ;
Gives coolness to the matchless dame ;
To every other breast—a flame.

* Thus imitated by Dr. BIRCH, in 1725.

In Puellam quandam Flabello ludentem.

OQUALIS minimas venusta tricas

Et quæ Flavia tractat arte ! passim

In se lumina cuncta vertit unam.

Flabellum in manibus minus peritis

Vel tantillum in amore vix valeret.

Hoc pulcherrima Nympha tam decoræ

(Quod nec dicere, nec videre tuto

Polles) jactitat hinc & hinc, ut istud

Cordi vulnera plura dat tenello

Quam velox Paphi sagitta Divi ;

Dumque aurâ dominæ calentis artus

Grata ventilat, heu ! flagramus æstu.

SONG.

S O N G.

FROM BR. ATTERBURY'S MSS.

FAIR Sylvia, cease to blame my youth
 For having lov'd before ;
 So men, till they have learn'd the truth,
 Strange Deities adore.

My heart, 'tis true, hath often rang'd
 Like bees on gaudy flowers *,
 And many a thousand loves hath chang'd
 Till it was fix'd on yours.

But, Sylvia, when I saw those eyes,
 'Twas soon determin'd there,
 Stars might as well forsake the skies,
 And vanish into air.

When I from this great rule do err,
 New beauties to adore ;
 May I again turn wanderer,
 And never fettle more !

* Hence again Mrs. Brooke appears to have caught
 " From flower to flower gay roving," &c.

SONG,

FROM BP. ATTERBURY'S MSS.

YOU say, you love! Repeat again,
 Repeat th' amazing sound;
 Repeat the ease of all my pain,
 The cure of every wound.

What you to thousands have deny'd,
 To me you freely give;
 Whilst I in humble silence died,
 Your mercy bid me live.

So on cold Latmos' top each night
 Endymion fighting lay,
 Gaz'd on the Moon's transcendent light,
 Despair'd, and durst not pray.

But divine Cynthia saw his grief,
 Th' effect of conquering charms;
 Unask'd, the Goddess brings relief,
 And falls into his arms.

• This Song (it should be acknowledged) has also been claimed by Dr. King, and is printed in that truly humorous writer's poetical works.

EPITAPH

EPITAPH ON PHILIPS,

IN WESTMINSTER-ABBEY*.

Herefordiæ conduntur Ossa,
 Hoc in Delubro statuitur Imago,
 Britanniam omnem pervagatur Fama
JOHANNIS PHILIPS,
 Qui Viris bonis doctisque juxta charus,
 Immortale fuit Ingenium,
 Eruditione multiplici excolunt,
 Mire animi candore,
 Eximiâ morum simplicitate,
 Honestavit,
 Litterarum Amœniorum sitim,
 Quam Wintoniæ Puer sentire cœperat,
 Inter Ædis Christi Alumnos jugiter explevit,
 In illo Musarum Domicilio
 Præclaris Emulorum studiis excitatus,
 Optimis scribendi Magistris semper intentus,
 Carmina sermone Patrio composuit
 A Græcis Latinisque fontibus feliciter deducta,
 Atticis Romanisque auribus omnino digna,
 Versuum quippe Harmoniam
 Rythmo didicerat.

* "The inscription [on Philips] at Westminster was written,
 "as I have heard, by Dr. Atterbury, though commonly given to
 "Dr. Freind."

Dr. JOHNSON.

Antiquo

Antiquo illo, libero, multiformi
Ad res ipsas apto prorsus, & attemperato,
Non Numeris in eundem ferè orbem redeuntibus,
Non Clausularum similiter cadentium sono
Metiri:

Uni in hoc laudis genere Miltoño secundus,
Primoque pœne Par.

Res seu Tenuēs, seu Grandes, seu Mediocres
Orandas sumferat,

Nusquam, non quod decuit,

Et videt, & affectus est,

Egregius, quocunque Stylum verteret,

Fandi author, & Modorum artifex.

Fas sit Huic,

Anso licèt à tuâ Metrorum Lege discedere

OPœsis Anglicanæ Pater, atque Conditor, Chaucere,

Alterum tibi latus claudere,

Vatum certe Cineres, tuos undique stipantium

Non dedecebit Chorum.

SIMON HARCOURT Miles,

Viri benè de se, de Litteris meriti

Quoad viveret Fautor,

Post Obitum piè memor,

Hoc illi Saxum poni voluit.

J. PHILIPS, STEPHANI, S. T. P. Archidiaconi

Salop, Filius, natus est Bamptoniæ

in agro Oxon. Dec. 30, 1676.

Obiit Herefordiæ, Feb. 15, 1708.

[414]
A P A N E G Y R I C K, 1731*.

WITH Favour and Fortune fastidiously blest,
He's loud in his laugh, and coarse in his
jest;

Of Favour and Fortune unmerited vain,
A Sharper in trifles, a Dupe in the main,
Atchieving of Nothing, still promising Wonders,
By dint of Experience improving in Blunders;
Oppressing true Merit, exalting the Base;
And selling his Country to purchase a Place;
A Jobber of Stocks by retailing false news,
A Prater at court in the style of the Mews;
Of Virtue and Worth by profession a Giber;
Of Juries and Senates the Bully and Briber.
Though I name not the Wretch, you know whom I
mean,
'Tis the Cur-dog of Britain, and Spaniel of Spain.

* It is not quite certain whether this severe character (now for the first time printed) was by Atterbury, or his friend Wesley. It is the communication of a correspondent; as are the following lines, which Atterbury is said to have repeated with great emotion on a noble Lord's quitting his apartment, after proposing and improperly pressing some terms which the Bishop had rejected with disdain:

"Unmov'd by pity, and by shame unaw'd,
The genuine spawn of bully and of bawd;
Ungrateful to th' ungrateful wretch he grew by,
A baseborn, blundering, blustering, bloody, booby!"

THE BLACK-BIRD.

WRITTEN DURING BR. ATTERBURY'S CONFINEMENT;

and found among the Papers of the late
SAMUEL WESLEY, M. A.

TO whom should grateful verse belong?
Who but the Black-bird claims my song?
When all the natives of the grove
Yielded obedience to the Dove,
How chearful on the green-wood spray
He warbled through the live-long day!
His music gladden'd every hill:
All but Canary-birds were still!
The Finches, a melodious throng,
Would sometimes listen to his song;
And, charm'd with his harmonious lays,
Though seldom imitate, would praise.
Now foes inhuman pluck his wing,
And cage him that he should not sing,
Nor chaunt his native wood-notes free,
But lose the thoughts of liberty.
- Say, shall recording verse disclose
The names and natures of his foes?
The boding Screech-owl, prophet sad,
The Vulture, feeder on the dead,
The Harpy, ravenous and impure,
The Hawk, obsequious to the lure,

The noisy, senseless, chattering Pye,
 The mere Lord William of the sky :
 Nor shall the Bat unmention'd be,
 A mongrel, twilight trimmer he ;
 When empire is to fowls transferr'd,
 He claps his wings, and is a bird :
 When stronger beasts the conquest get,
 He lights, and walks upon four feet :
 With crafty flight or subtle pace,
 Still safe without an act of grace.
 The Kite, fit gaoler, must be nam'd,
 In prose and verse already fam'd,
 Bold to kill mice, and now and then
 To steal a chicken from a hen :
 None readier was, when seiz'd, to slay,
 And after to dissect the prey,
 With all the insolence can rise
 From power when join'd to cowardice.

The captive Black-bird kept his cheer :
 The Gaoler anxious shook with fear,
 Lest roguish traitors should conspire
 T' unbolt the door, or break the wire : —
 Traitors if e'er they silence broke,
 And disaffected if they look,
 For (by himself he judg'd) his prey,
 If once let loose, would fly away.

On

On Bishop ATTERBURY's roasting Lord CONINGSBY
about the topic of being Priest-ridden.

By Mr. S. WESLEY.

AN Afs well drubb'd with sturdy oak,
Once on a time complaining spoke,
Rebuking Prophet mounted high,
That still laid on, yet scarce knew why.

Of this in memory, of late,
A lordly Afs in warm debate
Began to open wide; when Proph
(For brevity and rhimesake Roff.)
On the dull creature got astride,
And spurr'd, and gall'd, and bang'd his side.

Each Afs then serv'd by way of pad:
One Balaam rode, *one* Francis Dad.
They both did speak, and both were beat,
Yet still *this* differ did from *that*;
For *that* was smote before speech made,
But *this* just after what he said;
From whence, best judges do maintain,
That Afs spoke better of the twain,

O Coningsby, learn wisdom hence,
And give the prophets no offence;
For Levi's Tribe best know the art
How to make Issachars to smart.

On the Death of Mrs. MORICE *, Daughter of
the Bishop of ROCHESTER.

By Mr. S. WESLEY.

——“Heu! nunc misero mihi demum
Exilium infelix! nunc atq̃ vulnus adactum.”

NO fabling song, my mournful heart, essay;
But genuine grief adorn the flowing lay;
In numbers such as Friendship can inspire,
Wail the lost Daughter, and the living Sire;
Till flinty breasts resistless sorrow know,
And melt reluctant at another's woe;
Till party zeal the Father shall deplore,
And those who hate him most shall pity more.

What

* The following extracts of letters from Bishop Atterbury, occasioned by this fine poem, are too much to Mr. Wesley's honour not to be inserted (I wish I could have given them entire.)

“April 24, 1730.
“I HAVE received a poem from Mr. Morice, which I must be insensible not to thank you for, your Elegy upon the death of Mrs. Morice. It is what I cannot help an impulse upon me to tell you, under my own hand, the satisfaction I feel, the approbation I give, the envy I bear you, for this good deed and good work; as a poet and as a man, I thank you, I esteem you.”

“Paris, May 27, 1730.
“I AM obliged to W. for what he has written on my dear child; and take it the more kindly, because he could not hope for my being ever in a condition to reward him—though, if ever I am, I will; for he has shewn an invariable regard for me all along in all circumstances; and much more than some of his acquaintance, who had ten times greater obligations.”

“Paris,

What time the State its indignation shed,
 And lanc'd its second thunder on his head :
 When Nobles judg'd the well-defended cause,
 And Commons' care supply'd defective laws ;
 Then first the wound relentless fortune made,
 Which, festering, secret on her vitals prey'd.
 Guiltless she pin'd, or wholly guiltless she,
 Or only stain'd with filial piety.
 In vain might friends to sooth her anguish try,
 No friend a father's absence could supply ;
 No darling children could afford relief,
 Nor parent's fondness heal the daughter's grief :
 No sweets of life sufficient balm could prove,
 Not the dear softness of a wedded love :

" Paris, June 30, 1730.

" THE verses you sent me touched me very nearly, and the Latin in the front of them as much as the English that followed. There are a great many good lines in them, and they are writ with as much affection as poetry—They came from the heart of the author, and he has a share of mine in return ; and if ever I come back to my country with honour, he shall find it."

It has been thought, and not without reason, that Mr. Wesley's attachment to this great Prelate prevented his advancement. In an excellent elegy on Bishop Gastrell, Wesley says,

" The Prelate doom'd in exile sad to rove,
 (Forgive, ye great ones, for I still must love !)
 Ere yet the thunder from its cloud was fled,
 Or lanc'd the lightning pointed at his head,
 Found Gastrell firm an Enemy to defend ;
 Let cowards leave, and villains crush, a Friend :
 No conscious guilt in common danger ty'd,
 No partial favour warp'd him to his side.
 You that in pomp of grandeur strut your hour,
 In bright meridian of an envy'd power,
 Try all your friends, of every rank and kind,
 A man like this amid your thousands find :
 Nor levées throng'd his equal can supply ;
 Nor honours gain you, nor exchequers buy !"

The pangs of loss unbated still endure,
She tastes no cordial, and admits no cure.
With health-impairing sighs, unseen decay,
She wears the slender threads of life away :
Nor ease, nor period, can her mourning have,
But the dark shelter of the quiet grave.
So when Italians, with destructive skill,
Or Indians rude in good, but learn'd in ill,
A fatal draught mix for their secret foe,
Avoidless sure, yet unsuspected slow,
The latent death creeps on with lingering smart,
And mocks the antidotes of human art :
So imperceptibly the work is done,
That nature half mistakes it for her own.

When inward fretting grief had almost drain'd
Her ebbing veins, nor much of life remain'd,
Each hour her pious prayers more ardent grow
To meet her exil'd father once below.

Whoe'er the hazards of her health display,
Against their purpose urge her speedy way,
Lest death prevent her reaching Gallia's shore ;
That only sting the king of terrors bore.
Still pleasing hope her sickly limbs upheld,
Weakness itself, by true affection steel'd,
Distance, and toils, and dangers could disdain,
And seas and mountains were oppos'd in vain.
Rise to her wishes, rise, propitious gales,
And with new swiftness wing the flagging sails.

What

What fails can equal to her wishes go?
The tide rolls tedious, and the wind flies slow;
The pensive days in heavy march proceed,
Time, ever-hasting, seems to slack his speed:
For love too slow, for life he flies too fast,
And every painful hour forebodes the last.
Long-swooning faintness wakes her consort's fear,
And waning strength shews dissolution near.
Her soul, unconquer'd yet, disdains to part,
And holds the citadel of love, the heart;
Determin'd stedfast not to seek the skies,
Till the dear father blest her longing eyes.
In vain did nature, spent, forbid her stay,
And guardian angels beckon her away:
With frailer flesh th' immortal spirit strove,
Strong to delay the stroke, though not remove,
And death all-conquering yields a while to love.
So the brave Theban Chief, transfix'd by foes,
(With whom Bœotia's empire fell and rose)
To death, though deeply wounded, scorns to yield,
Till his lov'd soldiers gain'd the well-fought field;
Then bids his willing soul triumphant fly,
And when his vows are heard, consents to die.
Behold they meet! so Providence decrees,
All she desires on earth on earth she sees:
Her terrors now are ceas'd; when he is near,
Her father's daughter knows not how to fear.
The long-fought strife her spirit now gave o'er,
And sought the quiet that it shunn'd before.

The father blest'd her ere to heaven she went,
 The priest absolv'd the dying penitent.
 But left she grieve for sorrows not her own,
 And nature's yearning cause a single groan,
 He, self-collected, check'd th' ascending sigh,
 And springing tears commanded from his eye,
 Meanwhile his aching heart tumultuous strove
 With grief despairing and paternal love;
 Love inly wounds him with distracting woe,
 Compels to feel it, but forbids to show.
 His voice unfaltering, and his looks serene,
 An outward calmness veils the storm within.
 So when, in subterranean caverns pent,
 The winds hard-struggling labour for a vent,
 Direful, but secret, works the mine below,
 Strong and more strong th' imprison'd tempests
 grow:

The surface smiles, and verdant fields appear
 Secure, and far from danger as from fear:
 Not long: for instant springs the breaking ground,
 And scatters waste avoidless all around.

When death had seal'd her eyes in lasting sleep,
 And gave th' afflicted father leave to weep,
 In words like these bursts his long-stifled moan
 (If any may be liken'd to his own):
 "Is this the healing of my former care?"
 "This the sad answer of continued prayer?"
 "No longer space could angry heaven bestow?"
 "And thus! thus only! must we meet below?"

“ Me to remotest realms my fortune sends,
“ Depriv’d of present, nay, of absent friends :
“ ’Tis fatal with my woes to sympathize !
“ He dies who writes, as he who sees me dies !
“ Nor ev’n this exile seem’d enough severe,
“ To my lost country Bruffels rose too near !
“ Nor Paris’ walls these hoary hairs can screen,
“ My fate pursues me to the banks of Seine !
“ Let it pursue ! Still, still could I withstand
“ The utmost fury of a mortal hand ;
“ But with resistless force the vengeance flies,
“ When God inflicts the Pains and Penalties.
“ Yet, oh ! had judgement fall’n on me alone,
“ Nor broke a heart far dearer than my own !
“ The arrow glancing pierc’d her faithful side,
“ For me she languish’d, and for me she died !
“ My late sole stay ! ———

But hold—if speech the anguish may reveal,
He only can describe it, who could feel.

Then cease, my soul, oh ! cease the plaintive
tale,

And where the pencil fails thee, draw the veil.

Yet, still himself let the Great Prelate know,
Still rais’d superior to his weight of woe ;
Instruct mankind their load of life to bear,
And shame the murmurer, and the wretched cheer :
Try’d, not forsook ; one refuge yet remains,
So nature’s everlasting law ordains ;

Which

Which statesmen's art and soldiers' force defies,
 And mocks the rage of keenest enemies ;
 Which kindly softens the severest doom,
 The loser's conquest, and the exile's home :
 To that sure refuge let him calmly fly,
 And bless the glorious privilege—To die.
 Late may he land on that safe happy shore,
 Where loss afflicts, and pain torments no more :
 There sleep, from grief and banishment releas'd,
 And there the wearied father lie at rest ;
 His course well ended, heavenly glory share,
 And rise triumphant to the last great bar !

ELEGY * on Bishop ATTERBURY.

By SAMUEL WESLEY, M. A.

" There the wicked cease from troubling, and there
 " the weary are at rest." Job.

LOVE, strong as death, my glowing heart in-
 spire,

" And blend the Christian's with the Poet's fire ;

Adorn a Father's fame with pious lays,

Till faction pardon, if she dare not praise !

Should miscreants base their impious malice shed,

T' insult the great, the venerable dead ;

Let Truth resistless blast their guilty eyes,

" Bright as from clouds the red-wing'd lightning
 flies ;

Bright as the sword of flame that guarded Paradise !

Attend, ye good ! whose zeal unshaken owns
 The churches, altars, and the prelates thrones.

Ye wise and just ! who hate the devil's plea,

Excusing crimes by feign'd necessity :

" Ye firm and brave ! whose courage scorns to
 bend,

" Nor stoops in danger to desert a friend :

* All the lines marked thus (") were added or altered (by the ingenious friend to whom the Editor is indebted for this communication) to compleat the poem ; the original being very imperfect.

Ye plain and true ! who, scann'd by hostile eyes,
Disdain the mean advantage of disguise :

Ye pure of hand ! whom knaves for idiots hold,
Despising lustre of ill-gotten gold :

“ Faithful, but few ! to you my strains belong,

“ Applaud my friendship, and accept my song.

Hail, happy Sire ! The pain of life is o'er,
Stranger and wandering pilgrim now no more ;

“ At home—at rest—secure in blissful skies,

“ Where Envy drops its snakes, and Fraud its
guise.

See seraph guards the starry crown prepare,

“ See smiling angels fly to greet thee there !

Lo, * Hyde to exile doom'd on earth alone,

“ Springs to salute thee from his azure throne,

Nor yet below thy envy'd glory dies :

“ Long as the sun rolls o'er th' empyreal skies ;

“ When pyramids, unfaithful to their trust,

“ Crumble to atoms with their founder's dust ;

“ When solid marble, mouldering, wastes away,

And desert lies the monumented clay ;

Thou still shalt live, to deathless fame consign'd ;

“ Live like the best and bravest of mankind.

Where sleeps great Hannibal, the scourge of
Rome ?

“ Or who can point out awful Cato's tomb ?

What breathing busts, what sculptur'd angels rise,

T' adorn the place where Charles the Martyr lies ?

* Lord Clarendon.

No burial rites his impious hangmen gave,
 Not the poor favour of a decent grave.
 When Anna rests, with kindred ashes laid,
 What funeral honours grace her injur'd shade?
 A few faint tapers glimmer'd through the night,
 And scanty sables shock'd the loyal sight.
 Though millions wail'd her, none compos'd her train.
 Compell'd to grieve, forbidden to complain.
 How idly scornful the contempt express'd,
 How mean the triumph o'er a saint deceas'd!
 So when Death's bloodiest paths the Martyr trod,
 "To conscience faithful, firm to Heaven and God,
 Th'insulting foe their bones, no dust ealcin'd,
 Gave to the flowing stream and flying wind.
 Vain was the tyrant's art, the demon's vain,
 In heights, in depths, their atoms safe remain:
 "Heaven views its treasure with a watchful eye,
 "Till the last trumpet calls it to the sky,
 Nor more can powers infernal strike with dread
 The soul when living, than the body dead,
 Where grace divine, with native courage join'd,
 "Inspires and exalts the Christian's mind.
 When hapless James, with rage untimely shown,
 For Rome's ungrateful Pontiff risk'd his throne,
 And boasted Jesuits hop'd our fall to see,
 With Julian's spite, without his subtlety,
 The faithful priest our suffering church defends,
 Careless of mighty foes and feeble friends;

His

428 ELEGY ON BP. ATTERBURY.

His early pen for pure religion draws
 With strength and fervour worthy of its cause.
 So when brave Luther stemm'd Corruption's tide,
 With Zeal, and Truth, and Conscience, on his side,
 "Him nor loud threats nor whispers low could stay,
 "Nor chains, nor racks, nor fires, obstruct his
 way—
 "Resolv'd t'oppose proud Babel's haughty powers,
 "And make Rome tremble through her sevenfold
 towers.

When William reigns, the valiant and the wise,
 And foes profess to Priestly Synods rise,
 To check incroaching power, the Champion fights
 For long-neglected sacerdotal rights.
 Scarcely the adverse Chief his force withstands,
 Till rais'd and strengthen'd by imperial hands.
 These * point the labour, and reward assign,
 Direct the battery, and instruct the mine;
 "Th' exhausted war renew with weapons keen,
 "Near though in clouds, and mighty though unseen.
 So the good Dardan Prince, as Virgil feign'd,
 With Fates and Gods averse, a war maintain'd,
 Dauntless in flames:—till his enlighten'd eyes
 Against his Troy beheld Immortals rise;
 Juno and Pallas lead their Greeks to charge.
 And Jove overshades them with his sovereign targe;

* Alluding, we suppose, to Dr. Atterbury's dispute with Dr. Wake, afterwards Abp. of Canterbury, and others, concerning the rights and privileges of the Convocation; a controversy, in all probability, privately fomented and encouraged by King William, who, being a Dissenter, might wish to effect an abridgement of that Assembly's powers.

Neptune enrag'd o'erwhelms the smoaking walls,
And by the hand that rais'd her Ithum falls.

Perpetual storms his steady mind engage,
Trials of warmest youth and wisest age.

"Whatever frauds to legal craft belong,

"Mazes of lies, and labyrinths of wrong;

"Whate'er unjust in precedent appears,

"Shaded with darkness of revolving years,

"Till wrong seems ripen'd into right by time,

"And age makes theft a venerable crime;—

(While fond of present rest the Reverend Drone

Buys his own ease with treasures not his own:)

Whate'er of weight is cast on Friendship's side,

By ministerial guile and lordly pride;

Skilful to search, and faithful to display,

And bold to call forth midnight into day;

To no base arts his steady virtue leans,

Disdaining conquest by ignoble means;

"Pursuing Truth with ever active fire,

"And dauntless to assert as to enquire.

In vain or power or wealth the tempter shews,

Or friends intreating turn invidious foes;

"Nor smoothest prayers divert, nor danger awes

"From gaining malice, while he gains his cause.

So when to Abram's first-born son were given

The temporal blessings of propitious Heaven,

Though doom'd from Canaan banishment to bear,

The fate was prosperous, and the lot was fair.

Behold him great in height of battle grow!

Still strong his arm, still prevalent of bow!

Ordain'd

Ordain'd by none to fall; yet all t'oppose,
A single conqueror, with the world his foes!

To mightier dangers yet his virtues rise,
His panoply no common vengeance tries,
From long-collecting stores the treasur'd thunder
flies.

"Lightnings thick shot around his temples glare,

"Aim'd rightly by the Regent of the Air,

"Actors were chose, skill'd in hell's deepest plots;

"Actors, to whom th' Arch-fiend himself allots

"The very essence of a Devil's sin,

"His rage to ruin, and his craft to win—

He * who to gold perpetual worship gave,

Secret as night, unsated as the grave,

To friendship blind, sharp-sighted to a bribe,

The subtlest artist of the subtlest tribe;

Whose deep-affronted avarice combines

With craft outwitted by its own designs,

Full on that head their utmost rage to shower,

Who spurn'd at tender'd gold, and offer'd power—

† He who, by fortune rais'd, is vain of skill;

Who laughs at right and wrong, at good and ill,

Patron of every art, in every kind,

T'unnerve the body, and debase the mind;

Provok'd by virtues of the wise and brave,

"Of blackest crimes protector, friend and slave—

He who with self-importance swells debate,

† Whose rancour no revenge can ever fate;

* Perhaps Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.

† Doubtful.

Ravenous for gain, yet loud for commonweal,
With party-madness and inverted zeal,
" With more than lordly haughtiness posselt,
" And proudly prates of honour long deceas'd!
Eternal, restless enemy to good,
By pride, by sect, by climate, and by blood.
" To dark oblivion let the rest be given,
" Lost to the world, as they are lost to heaven.
When Britain wept for avarice of state,
And threatenings loud alarm'd the guilty great,
Wide and more wide were spread the wretch's
moans,
The widow's wailings, and the orphan's groans;
While injur'd thousands vengeance just require,
Convuls'd like *Ætna*, ere it bursts in fire;
What secret art, what Machiavelian hand
Could turn the torrent no man could withstand?
" What spell could universal wrath appease?
" Could deep amazement bid their tumult cease?
" Unusual objects charm their angry eyes,
" Amuse the curious, and perplex the wise?
" No!—Let the weight on *ATTERBURY* fall,
" Devoted victim to atone for all."
So if old tales, t' illustrate truth presume,
When Earth wide-opening threaten'd general
doom,
Nor prayers nor tears could calm her labouring
breast;
Nought but the richest treasure Rome posselt;

The Dæmon-Gods pronounc'd avoidless fate,
 " And all Jove's Ministers of wrath and state :
 " In vain their much-lov'd stores the wealthy
 bear,

" Their arms the brave, their ornaments the
 fair ;

A growing sepulchre the gulph expos'd,
 And not, till Curtius plung'd, the cavern clos'd.

But not to death his foes their hate pursu'd,
 Nor stain the blushing earth with hallow'd blood.
 For lo ! imperial mercy found the way
 To call the blood-hounds from their destin'd prey.
 Soon as the sovereign will their purpose cross'd,
 The rage of faction for a space was lost :
 The deepest throats their cries for death suspend,
 And those who late accus'd him, now commend.
 Unmark'd before, what great endowments rise !
 What matchless virtue sparkles to their eyes !

" So Satan view'd the parent of mankind,

" And felt soft pity melt his stubborn mind.

" Unknown remorse his wandering thought em-
 ploys,

" He mourns the Eden that himself destroys.

" Awhile the fight his curs'd intent remov'd,

" And, had he not betray'd her, he had lov'd.

" What last remains to crown each glorious
 deed,

Such virtues to reward and to exceed ?

“ What but to meet unmov’d the judgement-day,
“ When all the scenes of nature shall decay ;
“ When penal fire consumes each trembling coast,
And seas coeval with the world are lost ;
“ When discord blends the orders of the sky
“ In wild confusion : then to lift the eye
“ Dauntless and firm, midst ruins to rejoice,
“ When Power Divine its own effect destroys ;
“ With gratulations hymn th’ Almighty’s rod,
“ Strong, not in Nature, but in Nature’s God.

O D E on the Death of

Bishop ATTERBURY.

From a Copy printed by CURLL.

I.

YOU who would build yourselves eternal fame,
 Live to the world, and be for ever known,
 Chuse out some eminently virtuous name,
 And try to blend it with your own :
 But praise no wretch, by fraud or rapine great,
 Because he can reward thy toils with pelf :
 If so, you justly share the villain's fate,
 And draw a nation's curses on yourself.
 A nobler theme presents itself to all,
 (Ye learn'd, your Atterbury's dead)
 'Tis Virtue's funeral.

II.

If, when he died, the angels did rejoice,
 Join'd by his harp to sing th' Almighty's praise,
 Have we not cause to weep for such a loss,
 What greater subject can demand our lays ?
 Ye noble souls who did his friendship share,
 'Tis you alone my sorrows would address,
 I know how virtuous, and how few, you are,
 And wish no other hearers, were you less ;
 But would go thither, wheresoe'er you went,
 An honourable death to share,
 Or noble banishment.

III.

III.

No laurels, no rewards, attend this verse,
 It is too honest for the world's applause;
 Be it my wealth to weep upon thy hearse,
 My glory, ever to defend thy cause.
 I boast some merit; 'tis to love thy name;
 This is a privilege no laws deny;
 'Tis Laurels, Glory, Wealth, Applause, and Fame,
 And I would do it, were I sure to die.
 For in thee living we alone might find
 More Friendship, Honour, Sense, and Truth,
 Than now is left behind.

IV.

With early speed he follow'd Virtue's chace,
 Still as she fled him, did he not pursue?
 With added vigour and redoubled pace,
 What cannot exemplary Virtue do?
 Whate'er he did, 'twas there he did excel,
 The Husband, Father, Master, or the Friend,
 Were all perform'd so tenderly and well,
 'Twas hard to say where most we might commend:
 Time, to thy wing, and bring me if you can,
 'Mongst all thy dead and living store,
 To such another man.

V.

As the high-crested oak, which long had stood
The tempest's shock, and the fierce lightning's
blaze;

Whole ages flourishing o'er all the wood,

The lenient hand of time at length decays;

So with unshaken zeal did he oppose

The factious insolence, the impious hate,

The malice, rage, and turbulence of those,

Who sought subversion to the Church and State.

Heaven saw, was pleas'd, then call'd him to receive

What none but the approv'd can know,

And none but God can give.

WHAT-

WHATEVER may be thought of Bishop Atterbury as a Politician; there cannot be a second opinion in respect to his unrivalled talents. His fame, as a divine, an orator, and a polite scholar, preceded all his travels abroad, wherever he went in his exile. The Doctors of the Sorbonne well weighed the great achievement and mighty acquisition which would attend their bringing over this great man to their communion. In order to this, they sent a select deputation to the Bishop, to invite his Lordship to a conference on the subject of the differences between the Protestant and Catholick churches, hoping to convince him of the sinfulness of dissension from their apostolic faith. The Bishop received them with all the politeness of an accomplished gentleman, and the dignity of a prelate. He assented to their motion; and time and place were soon appointed for holding this conference, intended to proselyte so great a man. The Doctors and his Lordship assembled; the points to be debated, and the authority for their determination, began to be agitated. The Bishop, with that strength of argument and beauty of eloquence he always possessed, urged, that the Bible must be their sole and ultimate guide; to which the deputation assented. His Lordship then demanded what edition of the Bible they would abide by, for that a vast number of Bibles had been authorised by divers Popes and Councils, in opposition to one another. This so confounded these reverend Doctors, that they could not unanimously fix on one infallible edition of the Bible. Upon

this, Dr. Atterbury told them, there was an end of the pretended infallibility of their church; and the mortified Catholics retired, leaving the good Bishop to live and die in their country within the pale of his own Protestant church, as he did, like a true son of it; and as in his younger days he had from the pulpit at St. Bride's church solemnly engaged to do: "Seven years," said he*, "I have from this place admonished, exhorted, besought you: what success these labours of mine have had, He knows best for whose glory they were designed. The infidelity of the age has forced me to dwell often on the great articles and mysteries of our Faith, and to explain them largely: but I call God to witness, that I never proposed any explication of these points, never recommended any thing of this kind to your belief, but what I firmly, and from the bottom of my heart, *believed myself*. The Faith I have delivered to you, the Faith of the Church of England, into which we were all baptized, is, I am entirely satisfied, the same that was *once delivered to the saints*. I hope none of you will be ever invited, by the specious arts and insinuations of Heresy, to depart from it. I am sure, the profession of it, in all its branches and members, is what, by the grace of God, I intend to live and die in. The Church you are of is, without doubt, the purest and soundest, the most reasonable and moderate Church upon earth."

* In an admirable Farewell Sermon, Dec. 11, 1698. The date of this sermon may in some measure fix the time of his taking orders, which his Biographers seem not to have known. It appears by his letter to his father that he was not in Orders in October 1690; and it appears by this sermon that he was Lecturer of St. Bride's in 1691. He preached before the Queen at Whitehall, May 29, 1692.

As to the literary merit of our Author, it may be no unpleasing conclusion to this volume to annex the following testimonials.

“ To the Author of the Daily Post. July 17, 1737.

“ SIR,

“ SUCH as were acquainted with the late Bishop Atterbury cannot be displeased with the following character of him, from the pen of a candid, learned Frenchman. ‘That justice is due to the memory of the dead, whether they were our friends, or our enemies, when living,’ is a maxim among all civilized nations, and always generously followed by every man of honour and virtue. Bishop Atterbury is now in no condition to hurt us by his politics. Whatever his principles were as to Government, he has long since given an account of them to the Supreme and Infallible Judge of all mankind. We have therefore nothing to do with any more of him at present, than to revere those shining talents, and that superlative learning, which rendered him one of the brightest ornaments of Britain, and the admiration of all her neighbours. When he was in France, what respect, what caresses, did he not receive from her dignified clergy? What pains—what industry—what arguments—did they not employ to bring him over to their communion? This was a point which they pursued several years together, even to his last moments, with an assiduity altogether as indefatigable as it was fruitless; and I am persuaded, they would have been as proud of gaining such a man, as Columbus was of finding out a new world. But though the French clergy are indisputably the most learned body in the whole Roman church, and,

and, impartially speaking, not inferior in that respect to the clergy of any national church in Christendom; yet all their reasons could make no impression on the invincible Atterbury. To their great regret, he died a sound and unshaken son of that church of which he had been so many years a most worthy Bishop. But he never will die in the esteem of the French, several of whom I have often heard say, they were sorry his inflexibility had put it out of their power to pray for him.

“What I have related I was in some measure a witness of; though I never had any correspondence with the Bishop; and from his repugnance to Popery, even at a time and in circumstances when most men are liable to be overcome by importunity, it is evident to demonstration, that he never had the least design or inclination in his conduct to contribute to the imposing it upon his country, whatever his enemies have been pleased to charge him with. My request therefore to you is, to be pleased to give this letter, and the following account of him, a place in your paper; and by so doing you will perhaps oblige multitudes, besides, Sir, your most humble servant.

“These mistakes, as you see,” says the learned author of ‘*Observations sur les Ecrits modernes*,’ to his friend, “are not to be charged entirely to the account of Abbé G——; but there are others personal and particular to him. As for example, he attributes to Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who died in Paris, March 4 (N. S.) 1732, regretted by all the learned, and all the first-rate wits of that city, the famous Hardouin the Jesuit’s epitaph, inserted in the first tome of the ‘*Nouvelliste de Parnasse*.’ That attribution, nevertheless,

vertheless, is false; and I can assure you that the Bishop did not compose that ingenious little piece. Permit me to give you greater eclairecissements. Those that were particularly acquainted with him know that he never meddled with our disputes, and that he spoke Latin with an elegance and purity which I dare say few men ever came up to. No man ever so perfectly possessed the belles lettres, or better knew the finesse and delicacies of the authors of the Augustan age, whom he continually read. He was, without contradiction, one of the greatest wits in England. He had read our best writers, and especially the works of the great Bossuet, and also of Boileau and Rousseau. Though he did not speak our language, he knew its genius and its beauties. No fault in it escaped him, and I have been often astonished at his sagacity in that point. When Monsieur de la Motte declared openly against the rhyme of our versification, the Bishop conversed with pleasure on that subject; but though he was no more in love with rhyme than that academist, he said that M. de la Motte had not capacity enough to find in our language a harmony equivalent to it. Though he had principally applied himself to study the belles lettres, he had not neglected the ecclesiastical erudition. At Paris he began a work to prove the Divinity and Authenticity of the Holy Books, and went a great way in it. In 1731 he privately printed in that city a pamphlet, in quarto, in which he justifies himself from what Mr. Oldmixon reproaches him with, in the preface of his history of England, of having corrupted Lord Clarendon's manuscripts. The author of 'the Bibliotheque raisonnée,' in publishing an extract of that history, gave the Bishop of Rochester a sort of defiance to
answer

answer it, and threatened him to take his silence as owning the falsification. I gave the English Prelate notice of what passed, and he thereupon resolved to publish that answer, which carries in it equal force and politeness. He had but an hundred copies of it printed off, the greatest part of which number was sent to London, where the piece was soon reprinted.

Mr. Atterbury was an amiable, learned man, polite, and of a most agreeable conversation. He had nothing in him of that savage rudeness which generally characterises the learned. While he was in France, he wrote letters both in Latin and English to several persons whom he honoured with his friendship. It is to be wished they would print them. I shall with pleasure furnish those he wrote to me, and Abbé D. F. can also produce a great number of his letters. Forgive me, I beseech you, this long digression, in favor of the greatest man I ever knew.

"BISHOP ATTERBURY was a fine speaker, and as correct and elegant a writer as this age has produced: he had a sprightly invention, a clear and distinguishing judgement, a peculiar delicacy of thought, and such a masterly turn of expression, as was able to sustain the greatest, and elevate the weakest subjects. In all kinds of writing he is a perfect pattern for style; his manner being every where beautiful, and suited to the nature of his compositions.

"In his sermons he is clear and elegant, moving and sublime. Never, perhaps, was there a more accomplished preacher than this eminent divine; he had a sweet voice, a charming address, and such a graceful appearance, as engaged the atten-

attention of his audience at his first speaking. No one could better inform the understanding, no one more forcibly affect the passions, than this noble orator. By the exactness of his method, and the propriety of his sentiments, by the weight of his arguments, and the force of his reflections, he not only instructed, but fully convinced his hearers of the truth and importance of what he preached. Nor was he less successful in his application to the passions; in this respect, he was a great master, and could make what impressions he pleased: those pathetical strains of oratory that ran through all his discourses never failed to influence the wills of his auditors, and captivate the affections at pleasure.

“And in his controversial writings he is inimitable; for have we any thing of the like nature written with equal strength and beauty in the English tongue? So much fire and spirit, amidst such an accuracy and propriety of thoughts and diction, is rarely to be met with in the compositions of the most eminent moderns.

“The arguments of this author are managed with the utmost dexterity, and adorned with all the delicate wit and keen satire that debates are capable of. The strength of his genius, the warmth of his invention, and the beauty of his language, give him such a superiority over those he was engaged with, that when truth was thought to be on the side of his antagonists, he had always the appearance of it.

“Even his Familiar Letters are admirable, and written with all the elegance of the epistolary style. We have here such a mixture of genteel wit, and good sense, adorned with such a careless accuracy, such a beautiful negligence of phrase, as is no where to be met
with

with but in the celebrated epistles of the ancients. Nor was his eloquence confined to his native tongue, he having a thorough knowledge of the purity and propriety, the force and elegance, of the learned languages. His Latin compositions are written in so pure and elegant a style, as comes very little short of the dignity and standard of the ancients. "There is nothing forced or unnatural (says the author of his Life*), nothing laboured or affected, in what he says; but every thing comes from him with that ease and freedom, and volubility of diction, that fall of period, and turn of expression, as if he had been a native of ancient Rome, contemporary and rival to the famous Tully. No man (to conclude with the words of the same author) had a finer taste, or was better acquainted with all kinds of polite learning, than Dr. Atterbury. No man was a greater master of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the writings of all eminent divines, both ancient and modern, than he; no man understood the points of dispute between us and the Church of Rome, as well as Dissenters of all other denominations, better than he: but that which gave him a particular lustre above his brethren, was the sublime manner in which he always treated a subject, the clearness and connexion of his reasoning, the strength and purity of his style, and that peculiar art whereby he first instructed the understanding, and then, by a pleasing violence, seized upon the passions, and led them captive where he would, and just as he pleased."

BOSWELL, Method of Study, 1738,
Book I. p. 281.

* Stackhouse.

"SCARCE

“SCARCE had the Genius finished, when I beheld the gate, by which the President entered, unfold, and through it discovered a long range of magnificent apartments nobly illuminated: upon this, my conductor told me that he must now leave me; that I should soon see the reason, but he would return in an instant; that I might in the mean time be very easy, because I was imperceptible to every eye. Having spoke thus, he vanished; and I could perceive the President and all the other members turn their eyes with a respectful awe towards the illuminated apartments, through which I saw a venerable form advancing, attended by my kind guardian; it was that of a man who had reached his great climacterick; his air was noble and composed, yet there was a vivacity in his looks, and the majesty of his appearance was tempered with an inexpressible benignity. He was dressed plain, in a purple suit, and he took his seat in a chair of the same form with the President's, but removed from the table where the rest sat. He was scarcely seated when I found my conductor again by my side, who prevented my impatience to know who this extraordinary personage was, by saying, ‘That is Francis Atterbury, late Bishop of Rochester! He appears here, continued he, in a lay habit; and the particular honours that are paid him, both by the assembly and myself, are due not only to his extraordinary parts, but to the generous cares he bestowed on embellishing this fabrick. He has always declined to take his seat at the table, because he was no professed poet; but the little he has done that way, shews how easily he might have shined in that province; in this dome, where politics and
faction

faction are buried, he enjoys the ease he always desired."

I quote this paragraph from the admirable "Apotheosis of Milton," one of the earliest productions of Dr. JOHNSON, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738, p. 522.

"THE Dean we heard the other day together is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage; and, adding to propriety of speech which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill: he never attempts your passions until he has convinced your reason. All the objections, which he can form, are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart; and never pretends to shew the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it. Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and shew so much concern for them as to give them all the additional force they were able, it is not possible that nonsense should

should have so many hearers as you find it has in dissenting congregations, for no reason in the world but because it is spoken *extempore*: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears, and there is no way to come at their hearts, but by power over their imaginations." TATLER, N^o 66.

"When my Favonius is acknowledged to be Doctor Smalridge, and the amiable character of the Dean to be drawn for Dr. Atterbury, I hope I need say no more as to my impartiality." *Ibid.* Preface to vol. IV.

"AMONG the many great Preachers of our age, no one, that ever I knew, had happier talents than Dr. Atterbury. His person was very well made; he had a gracefulness in his behaviour, and a kind of majestick gravity in his looks, that bespoke him reverence wheresoever he came. His voice was not strong; but there was something so sweet in his pronounciation, and so insinuating in his address, as gained him the possession of an audience whenever he began to speak: besides this, he had a quick penetration, an exquisite understanding, an easy comprehension, a sprightly fancy and imagination, and solid judgement and good sense; all united and combined together. In his Sermons, he is every way inexceptionable and praise-worthy. There is that exactness of method, and justness of thought, those weighty arguments, judicious reflections, easy address, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole, as denote him the celebrated Preacher that he was, and not undeserving this commendation of his friend Smalridge: "With what applause has he often preached before the people, the magistrates, the clergy, the senate, and the court! how oft has the late

"Queen Mary (now gathered to the Saints above) been charmed with his eloquence! and what address did he use in tempering the soul of her Sister, when she was almost oppressed and overcome by her late affliction!† The truth is, his talent, in this regard, was so very remarkable, that it may not be improperly said, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his several promotions in the Church.

In 1692, when he was only Student of Christ-Church, he preached before Queen Mary, on the 29th of May, a Sermon about the Duty of Praise and Thanksgiving, which, in all probability, recommended him to be Chaplain to their Majesties; and it was his famous Discourse on the power of Charity to cover Sin, that induced the Governors of Bridewell-hospital to chuse him their Preacher, and recommend him to St. Bride's‡.

While he continued in this station, the Convocation-controversy sprung up, and his Vindication of the Rights, Powers, and Privileges, of that Venerable Body (which he published in 1700) gained him great applause among his brethren, and proved a successful step to his future preferment.

In 1701, he preached before the Hon. House of Commons, and gave such an accurate description of our Constitution, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, and such a fine commendation of King William, as was a great means to continue him Chaplain after the Queen's decease, and when others were removed from that honourable office.

* Queen Anne.

† The death of the Prince of Denmark.

‡ Here is a small mistake in point of time. It has been already shewn, p. 438, that he held St. Bride's in 1691; and Mr. Boyle directed a letter to him at Bridewell-house in 1693 (see p. 17). The Sermon abovementioned was preached in Bridewell-chapel, Aug. 16, 1694.

Queen Anne, upon her accession to the throne, made him her Chaplain, and advanced him afterwards to the Deanry of Carlisle, very probably for the amiable character he had given her in his Sermon before the House of Commons, on the 8th of March 1703-4.

Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then Lord Bishop of Exeter, made him Archdeacon of Totness 1700, and Canon-Residentary of Exeter 1707, for the reason he assigns in his elegant dedication to that Prelate*.

Sir John Trevor, a great discerner of men and their abilities, was so struck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls Chapel in 1709.

The Convocation of the Clergy chose him unanimously their Prolocutor 1710, in thankful remembrance of the honour he had done them, when he magnified their Office, and evinced the dignity of the Priesthood, in a florid discourse before the Sons of the Clergy, not many months before.

It is certain, that his elegant and pathetic Sermon upon the death of Prince George, designed to move the passions, and calculated for the consolation of the Queen, had this effect, that it gained him the Deanry of Christ Church 1711, notwithstanding the competition of Dr. Smalridge, no contemptible candidate, and the warm applications that, by men of power and authority, were made in his behalf: and it is not unlikely that the remembrance of the same Sermon pleaded in his favour, and mightily befriended the Earl of Oxford's recommendation of him, when the Queen was pleased, in 1713, to promote him to the Bishoprick of Rochester.

Printed in this volume, p. 274.

G g 2

Thus

Thus happily was Dr. Atterbury endowed with the gifts of nature, and the embellishments of erudition. He had an affluence of fortune, and the favour of great men; the applause of his brethren, and the patronage of two Crowned Heads to glory in; a tide of preferments successively coming in upon him, and a sphere of action, considering his several dignities in the Church, commensurate to his spirit. STACKHOUSE.

DR. DODDRIDGE*, in his unpublished Lectures on Preaching, gives a short view of the characters and qualifications of the most celebrated Divines of the last and present age, both Conformists and Nonconformists. Under the former head, he thus describes Atterbury as a Preacher.

“ ATTERBURY.

“ The glory of English orators! His language
 “ in its strictest purity and beauty: nothing dark,
 “ nothing redundant, nothing defective, nothing
 “ misplaced. Trivial thoughts avoided; uncommon ones introduced; set in a clear and strong
 “ light in a few words; a few admirable similes;
 “ graceful allusions to scripture beyond any other
 “ writer. On the whole, he is a model for courtly
 “ preachers.”

Dr. YOUNG says, Bishop Atterbury was an admirable orator both in the pulpit and in the House of Lords, &c. one of the best he ever heard.

Mr. JONES, MS.

* “ If this testimony,” says the ingenious friend who furnished it, “ is of any service (though indeed Atterbury’s fame needs none) you may introduce it in your intended publication. It is chiefly remarkable, as it is the testimony of a Dissenter.”

ADDI-

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS

IN VOLUME II.

P. 34. THE reader who is desirous of being better acquainted with Beau Feilding may consult either the "Lives of the Gamblers," or "Cases of Divorce, &c. 1723;" where the first article is intituled, "Memoirs of the Life of Robert Feilding, esq. containing an account of his amours; with a true copy of his last will and testament." He is mentioned by Dean Swift among those who have made "Mean Figures" on some remarkable occasions. His will was dated April 29, 1712, and proved on the 12th of May following. He was styled in it, "Robert Feilding of Feilding hall, in the county of Warwick, esq." and appears to have had some estates at Lutterworth.

P. 39. Swift mistook the object of Atterbury's wishes. It was on Winchester, and not either London or Canterbury, that he had set his mind. See the Preface to vol. I.

P. 47. Dr. Younger died Feb. 27, 1727-8; and was buried under the South aisle of St. Paul's cathedral, without any monument.

P. 129. l. 21. The extraordinary step is thus related by Stackhouse: "Orders were sent to the Tower, to seize all the seals that were found about him or his servants, and to bring them instantly away, to have their impressions compared. Colonel Williamson, in this, did no more than he was commanded; but, on the 5th of April, the Bishop sent a petition to the House of Lords, complaining, that the said Williamson, assisted by persons under

under his authority, had, by violence, searched him, carried away two seals, and seized a paper in his pocket, which was a letter to his solicitor: searched his two servants likewise, and taken away a seal from one of them; and thereupon praying, that, as a Lord of Parliament, and member of that house, he might have relief and protection.

P. 157. On the subject of Atterbury's consulting the books of the church of Westminster, it may be proper to cite the testimony of Mr. Addison, *Spectator*, No. 447.

"I have heard one of the greatest Geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite studies of antiquity, assure me, upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that, notwithstanding such an employment was at first very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero."

P. 162. The book, to which the Bishop here refers was first published in quarto, under the title of "An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation; lately printed at Oxford, 1687*." It was this vindication of the great Reformer that induced Bishop Burnet to rank the author among those eminent Divines who had distinguished themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant Religion. An 8vo edition of it was printed in 1723. The original preface is here subjoined:

"When I first happened upon this Pamphlet, and, by some peculiar beauties in the style, easily discovered its owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surprized: I could not have imagined that a man of so big a reputation as the author of the

* The *Imprimatur* is dated July 29, 1687.

'Guide in Controversy*'; one, whose thoughts had for some years converted with nothing less than Oecumenical Councils, Popes, and Patriarchs, should quit all those fine amusements for the humble task of life writing, and drawing of characters. It was mean prey, I thought, for a bird of his pounces; and the design he did it with made it ten times more a riddle. The doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two centuries, kept the field against all encounterers; and does he think they may be foiled at last by two or three little remarks upon the life and actions of a single Reformer? But it looks like a jest, when the irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turned upon us here in England: as if any thing that he said or did could affect a Church established upon its own bottom, and as independent on any foreign authorities as the Crown her Defender wears. Luther's voice is indeed to us what our author terms it, 'the voice of the stranger;' and though we are always ready to wipe off the unjust aspersions cast upon him by his enemies, yet this is what we are obliged to, not as sons, but as friends. Whenever injured Virtue is set upon, every honest man is concerned in the quarrel. But these last attacks have been so very feeble, that had we for once trusted the cause to its own strength, it would have suffered but little damage. And I for my part should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of men in the world, who have the vanity to think every thing on their side unanswerable that does not receive a set reply; though at the same time they are pleased to answer nothing themselves. They fight indeed all of them like Tartars; make a bold and furious onset, and if that does not do, they retreat in disorder, and you never hear of them afterwards. And this, I

* Obadiah Walker, Master of University College.

expect,

expect, will be the present case. The Editor of these 'Considerations' will not much care for replying, I believe; because that must be *de proprio*, and cannot be drawn from the old store of provisions laid in by the fraternity. But whether the poisons were of an earlier mixture, and designed, like Italian preparations, to work now at a distance, or whether later tempered, is a thing we may safely be ignorant of; as long as we are secure of the antidote, before they take their effect. And this the Theatre-press thinks herself engaged to promise; considering from whose munificence she had her birth, and especially to whom she owes her lustre; a late Prelate, of a remarkable zeal for the Established Church; and who, were Religions to be tried by Lives, would have lived down the Pope, and the whole Consistory. If the services she does now are not of the most deserving character, it is what the meanness of the opposer and a worn-out cause will bear; she has already produced the strongest arguments against Popery—Fathers and Bibles. The present attempt is confined perfectly within the bounds of an answer; and pretends to nothing more than a bare pursuit of the author step by step; and the laying open his blunders, for the reader's ease, just in the same order they lie. There was nothing frightful in this task, but the toil of being forced to think so long upon so very thoughtless a writer: in all other respects it was as easy as one would wish. The History-part lay within a little room; and the reasonings upon it were so thin that they needed only setting in the light to be looked through. In both, my greatest helps have been drawn from one single author, the Considerer himself; who, in every book of his, has made it appear, that he can write contradictions, as well as believe them. This small performance

had

had seen the light much sooner, but that it waited the edition of another piece which should regularly have prevented it. But the gentleman employed on that occasion having not yet had all the leisure he expected, it was thought fit rather to send this abroad, out of its due place, than stay till every body had forgotten the book it answers: a misfortune which I fear it has already in a great measure undergone. In the Defence of our Reformation, to come, it will be found, that the Considerer is no good Historian; the Replyer has proved him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good Subject; and all together no good Disputant: so that I have now no new side of him left to entertain the reader with. What he is, after all this, nobody knows; it is much easier to guess what, under another Revolution, he will be."

P. 245. l. 9. r. "bestowed on him."

P. 274. Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bart. was educated at Westminster-school, entered into Christ Church College, Oxon, in Michaelmas term, 1668, aged eighteen, and in the year following was made student; M. A. April 29, 1675. Afterwards he took holy orders, and had one or two benefices in Cornwall conferred on him by his relations. In 1680, his eldest brother died; and thereupon, though the title of Baronet and the paternal estate of his family were to come to him after the death of his father, yet he stuck to his holy orders, and, upon the translation of Dr. Lake to the see of Chichester, was nominated by King James II. to succeed him in Bristol; whereupon (after he had been diplomated D. D. Oct. 26, 1685,) being consecrated at Lambeth, Nov. 8, 1685, he was introduced into the House of Lords with Bishop Ken, the 11th of the same month; on June 8, 1688, he was one of the six Bishops (besides the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft) that were committed to the

Tower of London, for subscribing a petition to his Majesty, wherein he and the rest of the said Bishops "shewed the great averfeness that they "found in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches his Majesty's late "declaration for liberty of conscience, &c." where continuing till they were publicly tried in Westminster-hall for a libel, and acquitted, they were, to the great joy of the true sons of the Church of England, released on the 15th of the same month. On the 13th of April, 1689, he was, by King William III. as a reward for his services, translated to the see of Exeter, in the room of Dr. Lamplugh, translated to York; thence, in 1707, by Queen Anne, translated to Winchester, in the room of Bishop Mew, deceased; and dying July 19, 1721, was buried at Plint, or Plenint, in Cornwall, with his ancestors.

P. 288. l. 14. The Bishop's Brother was Major General Charles Trelawney, who died Sept. 1731, aged 78. See a particular account of him in the Baronetage, vol. 1. p. 309. The honours of the family are at present enjoyed by the Rev. Sir Harry Trelawney, bart.

P. 289. The impropriety noticed in the note, l. 21, 22, has been removed since that note was printed.

P. 304, note, l. 4. add, The volume in which the note was written was purchased by T. Payne, amongst other books, out of the library of Bishop Warburton, and had probably been given to Pope by Atterbury.

END OF VOL. II.



